

Mr. Egan

August 28, 1954

Mr. Stanley

INFORMATION CONCERNING

5731

By letter dated August 19, 1954, [redacted] of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's office forwarded a Photostat of a letter dated August 8, 1954, to Senator McCarthy from [redacted] New York City, who alleged that he had been dismissed from the Voice of America (VOA) after testifying before the McCarthy Subcommittee and after furnishing information to the FBI concerning subversive activities and sympathies of persons at VOA. He claimed he had given the FBI permission in August 1953 to reveal his name to United States Information Agency (USIA) officials so that they could interview him personally about the loyalty of one high VOA official. [redacted] claimed that the USIA officials never talked to him, but that he was called in by the Chief of Personnel, VOA, and told that his services were no longer needed. He said he was permitted to resign as of October 9, 1953.

Although the names of all persons interviewed during a Bureau investigation are not indexed in Bureau files, it has been ascertained that [redacted] was interviewed in at least five cases involving VOA personnel. By letter dated March 3, 1953, the State Department forwarded a letter from [redacted] alleging that certain persons at VOA were pro-Communist. Accordingly, [redacted] was interviewed and he alleged that these individuals were pro-Communist in their sympathies.

With regard to the name of the high VOA official mentioned by [redacted] this is believed to refer to Bertram D. Wolfe. In that case Wolfe was interviewed on April 22, 1953, and the information reported as having been received from New York City Confidential Informant T-15, of unknown reliability [redacted]

1 ENCLOSURE  
Mr. Nichols

100-8701 (Bertram D. Wolfe)  
101-43427 (Norman Stanley Jacobs)  
102-15027 (Lavinia M. J. [redacted])  
103-2747 (Catherine Frost)  
104-2206 (Walter A. Lyons)  
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170 SEP 10 1954

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

alleged that Wolfe was in sympathy with basic Communist philosophies and he questioned Wolfe's loyalty to the United States. By letter dated August 11, 1953, Mr. Charles M. Moore, then Acting Chief, Office of Security, NSIA, asked the Bureau to determine whether T-15 [ ] would consent to being interviewed by representatives of the NSIA Security Office concerning Wolfe and radio scripts allegedly prepared by Wolfe. By airtel dated August 27, 1953, the New York Office advised that [ ] had agreed to be interviewed by NSIA provided his identity would be concealed by that agency. On August 30, 1953, Mr. Moore telephonically cancelled his request to recontact T-15 inasmuch as the scripts prepared by Wolfe had been located. Mr. Moore was not advised of the identity of T-15 or that [ ] was willing to be interviewed by NSIA. [ ] was not identified as New York T-15 to anyone else at NSIA.

b7D

[ ] In connection with the Wolfe case, it is noted that [ ] stated in his letter to Senator McCarthy, "It is rather evident that those people who contacted the FBI declaring that they want to talk further with me, were not sincere in their intentions; and it is difficult not to draw the other conclusion that they wanted to identify me in order to punish me."

[ ] is the subject of Bureau file [ ] a 304 applicant investigation conducted in 1951. No information indicating disloyalty on the part of [ ] was developed, but considerable information was furnished by acquaintances who described him as being of rather loose morals. Information was obtained to the effect that [ ] engaged in an extramarital affair during early 1945 with one [ ] of Akron, Ohio. [ ] at the time was [ ] of the Roman Catholic Baptist Church in that city. He was relieved of the latter post as a result of the affair. During the course of his love affair [ ] was allegedly caught prowling about the [ ] home and on one occasion was allegedly caught in a clothes closet there. [ ] obtained a divorce from his wife one day prior to the obtaining of a divorce by [ ] from her husband. [ ] then left Akron, Ohio, and went to Atlanta, Georgia, to live.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ACTION:

None. This is for your information. Brief summaries reflecting the results of investigation relating to the five cases mentioned above are attached for information. These are full field investigations in which [ ] was interviewed by the Bureau.

Re: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York

On an application for employment with the Voice of America dated July 6, 1950, Wolfe stated that in 1928 and 1929 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served on that committee in Moscow; further, that prior to this period he was a member of the American Communist Party. A Voice of America investigation was conducted by the Bureau regarding Wolfe in 1950. Information was developed that Wolfe had been a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929; Director of Adjudication and Propaganda and the American delegate to the Executive Committee of Communist International, Moscow, USSR. Wolfe was reported to have followed Jay Lovestone out of the Communist Party. An article in the "New York Times" of August 15, 1929, reported that Lovestone and his supporters, including Wolfe, were expelled from the Communist Party for seeking to bend the American Communists to the point of view that the tactics pursued by the Communist International through the Workers Party in the United States were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that Lovestone, Wolfe, and Benjamin Gitlow had left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to Moscow to explain their conduct. (123-5791-22)

Gitlow when interviewed during the Bureau's investigation said that following the expulsion of the Lovestone group from the Communist Party, the "Communist Opposition" was formed, which had for its purpose to fight for the democratization of the Communist International. Gitlow said Wolfe was a member of this Communist Opposition and ~~that~~ <sup>he</sup> continued to support Stalin and even as late as 1934 and 1935 was willing to return to the Communist Party but failed to do so because of Lovestone's insistence that the Communist Opposition be taken back as a group and not individually. During the interview Gitlow expressed his opinion that Wolfe continues to be a Pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist. Jay Lovestone, when interviewed during the Bureau's investigation, stated it was his feeling that Wolfe has been a complete and sincere anti-Communist since his break with the Communist Party. (123-5791-22)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

123-5791

WDL:jp

ENCLOSURE

Louis Budenz during the investigation stated that while Wolfe was in the Communist Party he was regarded by the Communists as an enemy of the Party. It was Budenz's opinion that Wolfe is a sincere anti-Communist over whom the Party exercised no control after his break from the Party. (123-5791-20)

By memorandum dated August 2, 1951, the Loyalty Review Board of the United States Civil Service Commission advised that Wolfe had been rated "Eligible on loyalty" for a position with the Voice of America.

During a supplemental loyalty investigation conducted regarding Wolfe in 1953, [redacted] who was then with [redacted] the Voice of America in New York, was interviewed. He furnished a signed statement on April 24, 1953. His identity, however, was protected and his information was attributed to New York City T-15 of unknown reliability. He stated that during the last year he had an opportunity to read the scripts prepared by Wolfe for use by the various language desks of Voice of America; that through the reading of these articles he came to the conclusion that Wolfe, while being an anti-Stalinist, is still in sympathy with the basic Communist philosophies of Marx and Lenin. He claimed that Wolfe had never in any of his writings condemned the Communist philosophy as advocated by Marx and Lenin and hence it was his opinion that although Wolfe broke with the Party as an organization and is anti-Stalin, he has not abandoned Marxism and Leninism as a political and economic philosophy. The report covering the [redacted] interview was disseminated by the Bureau by memorandum of May 14, 1953. b7D

By letter of August 11, 1953, Charles M. Noone, Acting Chief, Office of Security, U. S. Information Agency (formerly Voice of America) requested that New York City T-15 be contacted to determine if he would consent to being interviewed by representatives of the Office of Security of USIA; that if he is not agreeable to such an interview, T-15 be asked to identify the scripts prepared by Wolfe and referred to by T-15 as a basis for his conclusion regarding Wolfe's present sympathy. New York advised on August 27, 1953, that T-15 was agreeable to such an interview providing his identity would be concealed by USIA; however, prior to dissemination of this



information, Charles Noone advised telephonically that he wished to withdraw his request regarding T-15 as copies of all of Wolfe's scripts had been obtained by officials and they had been reviewed, and it was concluded they did not indicate Wolfe was pro-Communist.

Referral/Consult

By memorandum dated January 28, 1954. [redacted]

[redacted] An article appeared in the "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, reflecting Wolfe had resigned his position with the Government to return to his writings on the history of the Russian Revolution.

It may be noted that Congressman Fred Busby of Illinois expressed opposition to the employment of Wolfe by the Government and so stated in a speech before the House of Representatives on August 3, 1953.

SAC, New York (100-22530)

March 17, 1954

Director, FBI (100-41393)

123-5791-  
GERTRUDE JOHANNA HANSSLER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re New York letter dated March 1, 1954, requesting Bureau authority before interviewing Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe, and Will Herberg in connection with the captioned investigation.

Bureau authority is granted to conduct interviews with Bertram Wolfe and Will Herberg. Authority to interview Lovestone at this time is denied. You should resubmit your request to interview Lovestone in thirty days.

3 cc - Buffalo (61-55)

cc: Jay Lovestone (61-1292)  
Will Herberg (100-408791)  
Bertram Wolfe (123-5791)

NOTE ON YELLOW ONLY: By let dated 12/23/53 Buffalo requested New York to conduct these interviews to obtain information concerning the subject's activities from 1925 to 1936. Paul Crouch has advised that the subject may have attended the Lenin School. Jay Lovestone was formerly General Secretary of the CP, USA, and was expelled in 1929 when he formed the CP, USA, (Majority), later known as the Lovestonites. He has testified before the HCUA and has been interviewed on a number of occasions by Bureau Agents, however, in view of a recent exchange of correspondence an interview at this time is not desirable. He is the subject of a pending espionage investigation and is employed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Will Herberg, the former editor of "The Communist," was expelled from the CP in 1929 with Lovestone. He has previously been interviewed by Bureau Agents and has been cooperative. He is employed by the ILGWU. Bertram Wolfe, a former Director of the Workers School was expelled from the CP in 1929 with Lovestone. He is presently employed by the U.S. Information Agency and was the subject of a YOA investigation in 1950 and supplemental data was furnished to the Civil Service Commission under an SGE caption. He was interviewed in 1947 for information concerning the Workers School and was partially cooperative.

52 MAR 30 1954

EFD:nbs:imd



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-41393)  
 FROM : SAC, New York (100-22530)  
 SUBJECT: GERTRUDE JOHANNA HAESSLER, was  
 IS - C  
 SMITH ACT OF 1940  
 (OO: Buffalo)

DATE: 3/1/54

Re Buffalo letter dated 12/23/53 requesting NY to  
 interview [redacted]

b7D

WILL HERBERG of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, formerly a YCL member, who might have known the subject through the Young Pioneers;

BERTRAM WOLFE, formerly of the Workers' School, NYC, where subject once taught Political Economy;

JAY LOVESTONE;

NICHOLAS DOZENBURG;

b6  
b7C

In view of the fact that LOVESTONE is the subject of a pending investigation, "JAY LOVESTONE; ESPIONAGE - IS & R" (Bufile 61-1292, NY File 100-25904), LOVESTONE will not be interviewed, unless such interview is authorized by the Bureau.

The Bureau is aware of extensive ramification in the LOVESTONE case.

1-Buffalo (61-55) (RM)  
 2-Miami (RM)  
 1-Washington Field (RM) (100-4607)  
 1-NY 100-25904 (JAY LOVESTONE)



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SEARCHED ON 3-2-54  
 MAR 5 3-2-54

b7D

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Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

BERTRAM WOLFE is known to be an associate of LOVESTONE and is possibly currently involved in security hearings in connection with his government employment.

WOLFE is the subject of an LGE investigation (Bufile 123-5791, NY File 121-16979).

WILL HERBERG is also known to be an old LOVESTONITE and is employed at the ILGWU in NYC, as is LOVESTONE.

In view of the close association between LOVESTONE, HERBERG and WOLFE, the Bureau is also requested to authorize the interviews of HERBERG and WOLFE.

Concerning the interview of [redacted] WFO is requested to cover this lead by contacting JOHN LAUTNER through Justice Department Attorney, [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

If LAUTNER has departed from Washington, WFO is requested to forward the required information to the appropriate office to cover this lead.

Concerning the interview of NICHOLAS DOZENBURG, Miami is requested to cover this lead, since the last known residence address for NICHOLAS DOZENBURG was 425 West Palm Beach, Florida.

It is noted that DOZENBURG, who is an admitted former Russian Intelligence Agent, during the early 1930's as being ill with Parkinson's Disease, and it is not known whether his health will permit an interview.

The Miami file on NICHOLAS DOZENBURG is (65-2159)

NY will attempt to arrange for interview of other persons mentioned in Buffalo letter dated 12/23/53.

For the information of Miami, which has not received previous communications in this case so far as known to NY, the following background information and description concerning the subject is set out:

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Name            | GERTRUDE JOHANNA HAESSLER   |
| Aliases         | Gertrude Johanna Hessler,<br>Mrs. Robert Filtzer,<br>Gertrude Johanna Filtzer,<br>Nancy Hayden, Johanna Watson,<br>Mrs. William Weinstone |
| Address         | 746 7th Street,<br>Buffalo, NY  |
| Sex             | Female  |
| Race            | White   |
| Born            | 12/25/94, Milwaukee,<br>Wisconsin   |
| Height          | 5' 5"   |
| Weight          | 150 lbs.  |
| Build           | Medium  |
| Hair            | Red, turning gray, cut short,<br>rather bushy   |
| Eyes            | Brown   |
| Complexion      | Ruddy, freckled   |
| Scars and Marks | None known  |
| Occupation      | Stenographer, formerly teacher,<br>social worker, writer and<br>organizer   |
| Marital status  | Separated from WILLIAM<br>WEINSTONE; divorced from<br>ROBERT FILTZER  |
| Relatives       |   |

The subject completed Teachers College at the  
University of Wisconsin in 1917. Her daughter, [redacted]  
[redacted] was born on [redacted] at NYC to her and WILLIAM  
WEINSTONE.

The subject and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman  
of the CP-USA, have had a "love interest" in each other, which  
has existed since 1944. She claims friendship with top National  
and Russian Communists.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-22530

She is the sister of CARL HAESSLER of Detroit, Michigan, now or formerly a leading figure in the Federated Press. She was in Moscow, Russia, from about 1923 until 1925, reportedly in the employ of the Third International. She is also believed to have received some training while in Moscow, and may have attended the LENIN School. There is a further possibility that she was in Russia from 1931 until 1933.

Little is known of the subject's activities between 1925 and 1936, except that she was residing in the NYC area, and was connected with the CP leadership at that time. She is reported to have done considerable writing for Communist publications, including the "Daily Worker".

Since 1936, she has resided at Buffalo, NY, and has been active in Communist activities in that area.

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

February 16, 1954

Director, FBI

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
U. S. Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my memorandum dated October 7, 1953,  
and to my previous memoranda transmitting the results of the  
investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

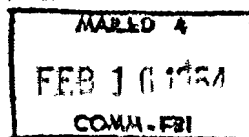
Attached herewith for your information is a copy of a  
letter dated January 28, 1954, from the Civil Service Commission  
which reflects that Wolfe had been "retained" under Executive  
Order 10450.

The "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, revealed that  
Wolfe had resigned from his position with the Government to  
return to his writings on the history of the Russian

The above is for your information and for the completion  
of your file in this case.

Attachment  
123-5791

RHE:bbm



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100-5791-1

September 12, 1950

AIR MAIL, SPECIAL DELIVERY

EX To: SAC, San Francisco

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 SPECIAL INQUIRY--STATE DEPARTMENT  
 Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
 (VOICE OF AMERICA)

You are requested to conduct an investigation of the above named individual. The instructions contained in Section 103, Volume 3 of the Manual of Instructions and Chapter 78, Part 3 of the FBI Handbook should be observed in connection with this investigation. This case is to be assigned immediately and reports of the complete investigation must be submitted Air Mail, Special Delivery, where proper, by September 26, 1950.

Address: 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, New York

Birth date: January 19, 1896

Birthplace: Brooklyn, New York, New York

WASHINGTON FIELD

CHECK STATE DEPARTMENT, CIA, CSC AND HCUA FILES.

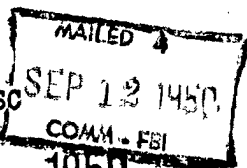
NEW YORK

Refer to your file 100-9078. Review and include pertinent data in your report. (61-1050)  
 Refer to your file 100-87870. The reports of SA Richard T. Hradsky dated 3-26-48 and 2-1-49 in case entitled "Dora Martin, Internal Security-R". Review and include pertinent data in your report. (100-352638-22,11,)

Enclosure: cc New York (ENC) (SD)  
 Boston (ENC) (AMSD)  
 Washington Field (ENC) (SM)

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Nichols  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Harbo  
 Belmont  
 Mohr  
 Tele. Room  
 Nease  
 Gandy

EMH:per  
 Form 79 sent CSC



58 DEC 1 1950

SAC, New York

Refer to your file 100-4013. The report of SA Kenneth M. Bierly dated 1-14-43 in case entitled Socialist Worker's Party, Internal Security-R." Page 95. Review and include pertinent data in your report. (100-16-35-50)

Refer to the report of SA Louis Loebl dated 12-11-39 entitled "Communist Party, U.S.A., Registration Act." A copy of this report was furnished your office. The applicant is mentioned on page 23. (61-7590-276)

The Bureau files reflect that a B. D. Wolfe was a lecturer in the New Workers School the fall of 1937. The course was entitled "Law of Revolution: Central Problems of Marxist Strategy." (61-7559-1836-x12)

Refer to your file 40-241. Review your letter dated 1-5-50. The applicant is mentioned on page 47. (40-3923-139)

BOSTON

Reference Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. should not be interviewed.

ALL OFFICES

It should be noted that the applicant in the attached form admitted that he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served on that Committee in Moscow.

Applicant also states he was a member of the American Communist Party which described itself as a section of the Communist International.

This case must be assigned to a mature, experienced well qualified agent.

The deadline must be met in this case.

on \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Subj: Wolke, BertramAddress: Dover

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# 352 Date 8-16 Searcher Initial 182FILE NUMBERSERIALS61-6050102-3-1838X Enc. p.A-2 (X)102-3923-139 TOTSE FOL 2/7102-3-74-920 ND61-7590-276X I64-22166-55 1821Wolke, Bertram D61-6050 1821over - 100 Sec's checked  
to be identical with 11/10/51  
searched.Wolke, Bertram61-6050(same as above)

**Subj :**

Walt. B. D.

**Address:**

**Birthdate:**

**SUPV:**

### Misc:

R.

Date \_\_\_\_\_

# Searcher

Initial

**FILE NUMBER**

## SERIALS

✓ 101-35-26-8-11 ✓ 11 ✓  
✓ 102-25-26-8-2 ✓ ✓ ✓  
✓ 161-75-59-183 ✓ 12 ✓ ✓  
✓ 102-16-35-50 ✓ ✓ ✓

102-25-2628-226-1

✓ 61-7559-1836 ✓ 12 ✓ 2 ✓

✓✓✓✓-16-35-58

WOLFE, Bertram D.  
68 Montague Street (New York Address)  
Brooklyn 2, New York

HA 4-3177

5728

BERTRAM WOLFE is generally conceded to be the foremost expert in the United States on the history of the Russian revolution and of the Bolshevik party. As he explains, he was for a period a member both of the American Communist party and of the Comintern. However, he makes it quite clear that many years ago he renounced the principles of Communism and has taken no further part in the Communist movement. At the same time, his experience with Communism and Marxism will be most useful to the Voice of America in planning and executing the concentrated ideological campaign against international Communism. It is to conduct this campaign that we wish to add Mr. Wolfe to our staff as Chief of the proposed Ideological Talks Operations Unit.

At the present time Mr. Wolfe is attached to the Hoover Library and Institute in Stanford, California where he is a senior Fellow in Slavic Research specializing in Russian social, economic and political matters and history. In addition to his many newspaper and magazine articles, Mr. Wolfe is perhaps best known for his excellent study of the leaders of the Bolshevik party - Trotsky, Lenin and Stalin - called "Three Who Made a Revolution."

OII:IBD:LMClucas:rs:7/11/50

123-5791-1

Complete Employment History (Continued)

*Bertram Wolfe*  
VOICE IN AMERICA

1916 - 1917

Substitute Teacher of English

Board of Education Brooklyn, N.Y.

*NY*

5729

123-5721-1

4638  
H  
9-20-50

WASHINGTON AND NEWARK FROM WASH FIELD

20

DIRECTOR AND SAC

DEFERRED  
2:05p

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBULET SEPT. TWELVE TO SAN FRANCISCO, BUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. REFERENCE GEORGE KENNAN, COUNSELLOR OF DEPT. STATE, PRESENTLY ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE AND CAN BE REACHED AT PRINCETON UNIV., SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED STUDIES. FOR INFO. NEWARK, APPLI ADMITS BEING A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND SERVED ON THAT COMMITTEE IN MOSCOW TWENTY EIGHT TO TWENTY NINE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF AMERICAN CP. APPLI ALSO ADMITS MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN CP IN VARIOUS CAPACITIES FROM NINETEEN TO TWENTY TWO AND WAS DIRECTOR OF THE WORKERS SCHOOL FOR CP IN NEW YORK FROM TWENTY FIVE TO TWENTY EIGHT. APPLICANT BORN JAN. NINETEEN, NINETY SIX AT BROOKLYN, NY AND RESIDES AT SIXTY EIGHT MONTAGUE ST., BROOKLYN, NY. BUREAU REQUESTS CASE BE ASSIGNED MATURE, EXPERIENCED WELL QUALIFIED AGENT AND DEADLINE SEPT. TWENTY SIX MUST BE MET. HANDLE

HOTTEL

RECORDED - 135  
135 577 2K

HEM:lh

123-5105  
EX-62



F.B.I. **DI**OC

DECODED COPY

*to* FROM NEW YORK

9-22-50

NR 221530

12:08 P.M.

DIRECTOR DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE 123-5791, BULET TO SAN FRANCISCO SEPTEMBER 12 LAST. DUE TO EXTENSIVE ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION REQUIRED BY THIS CASE REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED OCTOBER 5 NEXT.

RECEIVED

9-22-50

12:27 P.M.

GW

RECORDED - 130

EX - 68

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-1  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

123-5791-3

su Wolf, Bert

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_

SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

4639

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

| R#          | Date | Searcher Initial |
|-------------|------|------------------|
| FILE NUMBER |      | SERIALS          |

61-7559-2-6422

61-10498-249

39-915-507 ✓

61-7559-2534 ✓

61-7561-2-50 ✓

~~61-7561-2-85~~ III

61-7569-2-2231, 4136

66-2542-3-47-2832

61-7559-2-273, 158, 159

61-7590-276 ✓

100-155500-1 (have)

39-915-592 p. 780

94-3-4-501-77+ (have)

100-24621-12, 18

100-24621-32 ✓

61-8404-10 ✓

Sub

*Wolf, Burton*

Address:

Birthdate:

*Holroyd*  
SUPV: *4639*

Misc:

R#

Date

Searcher

Initial

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

*and find*  
*100 - 33049 - 50*

*100 - 16 - 35 - 50*

*100 - 16 - 35 - 50*

*Wolfe*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

NK FILE NO. **123-1179 hmc**

|   |                                  |                           |   |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>NEWARK</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>9/25/50</b> | PERIOD:<br><b>9/22/50</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>GUS M. MOORE (A) 5725</b>  |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b><br><i>AGENCY ICC - USA<br/>REQ. REC'D 2-7-57<br/>REP'T FORM. 2-81-57<br/>BY Cll</i> |                                  |                           | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>VOICE OF AMERICA</b> |

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Reference **GEORGE F. KENNAN** advised he had never personally met **WOLFE** but had read **WOLFE**'s book "Three Who Made A Revolution."

- RUC -

*AGENCY ICC DIST. OFF 4  
REQ. REC'D. 11/15/57  
REP'T. FORM. 11/25/57  
BY CWR - TRS*

Washington Field teletype to Newark dated 9/20/50.

**DETAILS:**

**Mr. GEORGE F. KENNAN**, member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, who is presently on leave from his position with the U. S. State Department, advised that he did not recall ever having met **WOLFE**. He stated that he had never heard of **WOLFE** until approximately four years ago when he read **WOLFE**'s book entitled "Three Who Made A Revolution." **KENNAN** informed that this book was about the biographies of **LENIN**, **TROTSKY** and **STALIN**. **KENNAN** advised that this book indicated no pro-Communist views or fellow traveling on the part of **WOLFE**.

**Mr. KENNAN** advised that on one occasion about two years ago he had written **WOLFE** and asked in this letter if **WOLFE** were coming to Washington and told **WOLFE** that he held **WOLFE**'s book in high regard. He advised that he had wanted to contact **WOLFE** in connection with some work that he, **KENNAN**, was doing for the State Department. **KENNAN** advised that at that time he considered **WOLFE** to be the most reliable source of information for him. **KENNAN** related that at the time **WOLFE** advised him that he was on the California coast. **KENNAN** stated that he had never interviewed **WOLFE**.

|   |                         |   |
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| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><i>S. K. McKee</i>   | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES                          |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>3 Bureau (123-5791)<br>1 Newark<br><i>1 CC AAG 4/21/50 J22</i><br><b>52 DEC 4 1950</b> |                         | <b>123-5791-4</b><br><b>SEP 26 1950</b><br><i>Emd</i> |
|   |                         | RECORDED - 130<br>INDEXED - 130                       |

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Mr. KENNAN advised that he could furnish no information regarding WOLFE's reputation or character but advised it was his opinion that the book written by WOLFE was written by a man who had no sympathies for Communism.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. 123-937

|  |                                  |   |   |
|--|----------------------------------|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>San Francisco</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>9/25/50</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>9/14, 21, 22/50</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>BURKE MITCHELL, kth</b> <b>5724</b>  |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b> <b>AGENCY Photo USA</b><br><b>REQ. REC'D 2-7-57</b><br><b>REP'T FORM. 2-21-57</b><br><b>BY ALL</b> |                                  |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT</b><br><b>Public Law 402, 80th Congress</b><br><b>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Employment as Research Fellow, Stanford University 7/1/49 to 8/31/50 verified. Fellow employees, reference, and neighbors recommend. Nothing derogatory. No criminal or credit record Palo Alto, California.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bulet to San Francisco, 9/12/50.

DETAILS:

AT PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA:

Miss LILLIAN OWEN, Executive Secretary, Office of the President, Stanford University, advised her records reflect that the applicant was a Research Fellow in the Hoover Institute and Library from July 1, 1949 to August 31, 1950. There was no derogatory information in her files. She stated she did not know him.

CHARLES EASTON ROTHWELL, Vice Chairman, Hoover Institute, a reference, advised that he knows the applicant only as a fellow employee at Stanford, and as a man who attended many seminars with him. He stated that he has had no social connections with him. He stated that he is aware of the applicant's past association with Communism, but feels that he is now, and has been for many years, an earnest opponent of Communism. He further stated that he has found the applicant to be an honorable gentlemen in all of his dealings with him, and that he does not feel that his opposition to Communism could be feigned for any ulterior motive. He recommended him as a man of good character and reputation, and stated that his associates while at Stanford were above question. He furnished no derogatory information.

HAROLD H. FISHER, Chairman, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, advised he has known the applicant as his superior since he has been at Stanford.

|   |                                    |  |
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| 1-CCANC<br>3-Bureau (123-5791)<br>1-San Francisco                             | 123-5791-5<br>SEP 27 1950<br>EX-68 | RECORDED - 130<br>INDEXED - 130<br>EX-68 |
| COPY IN FILE<br>1950<br>State 11/1/50   |                                    |  |

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He stated that the applicant was one of the early leaders of the Communist movement, but that he split with the Party during the 1920s or early 1930s when he became convinced that the Communist Party in practice was a travesty on the ideals he had espoused during its beginnings. FISHER related that the applicant manifested a firm opposition to Communism during the time he was at Stanford. He recommended him as a loyal American of excellent character and reputation. He stated his associates while at Stanford were of the highest type. He furnished no derogatory information.

DANIEL T. LERNER, Executive Secretary and Research Associate, Hoover Institute, advised that he has known the applicant by reputation and through attending lectures given by him as far back as 1937 when he (LERNER) was a student at New York University. He added that he never met him socially until the applicant became associated with Stanford University. LERNER informed that the applicant has been a staunch opponent of Communism all during the years he has known of him. He stated that from his writings, public utterances, as well as his private conversations he has become convinced that the applicant is entirely sincere in his renunciation of Communism. LERNER added that he regards the applicant as a man of excellent character and reputation. He furnished no derogatory information and recommended him for a position of [redacted]st.

Mrs. INEZ G. RICHARDSON, Executive Assistant and Research Associate, Hoover Institute, advised she knew the applicant all of the time he was at Stanford. She stated that she attended many seminars with the applicant at which time Communism and the conduct of the Soviet Union were discussed. She stated, in this regard, that the applicant was always the one in the group who would strike at the heart of the problem and expose the fallacy of the Communist doctrine or the strategy of the Soviet Union. She added in this regard that he is deeply sincere in his attacks on the Communist Party and the actions of the Soviet Union. She recommended him as a loyal American of good character and reputation. She furnished no derogatory information.

Mrs. ZOE V. KNOX, 2034 Sandhill Road, advised that the applicant rented her home at 2026 Sandhill Road during the time he was at Stanford. She stated that she became a close friend of the applicant and his wife as a result of their being neighbors. She stated that the applicant and his wife had informed her that they had formerly been associated with the Communist Party, but that they became disillusioned and had been for many years strongly opposed to Communism. She stated that he subscribed to "Pravda" and often read articles to her from this paper which he would then ridicule or criticize. She stated she had no reason to believe he and his wife were other than loyal Americans. She recommended him as a man of good character and reputation, and furnished no derogatory information.

Mr. and Mrs. LEE R. McBETH, 2022 Sandhill Rd., advised that they knew the applicant and his wife for about fourteen months as neighbors. They stated that during this time they became close friends. They advised that



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the applicant was known by them to have formerly been a member of the Communist movement. They stated that they knew from conversations with him that he has been opposed to Communism for many years. They recommended him as a Loyal American of excellent character and reputation. They stated that they knew nothing of his associates and furnished no derogatory information.

There is no record of the applicant at the Palo Alto Police Department or the Palo Alto Merchants' Association.

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:

"The Daily Peoples World", (cited as a Communist newspaper by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its Third Report dated 1947) on July 27, 1944, page four, column six, contained an article reflecting that the applicant spoke at the Jewish Community Center, San Francisco on July 25, 1944. This article described him as a "Trotskyite writer" and stated that the audience "put him through a wringer" when he attacked the unity of the allied powers in a lecture entitled "Russia in the Post War World". This article stated that WOLFE was "visibly nervous as he answered the charges of almost a dozen critics out of the 150 people attending his lecture. Only two defended his shaky thesis." In this regard, San Francisco T-1, of known reliability, advised that prior to the above mentioned lecture, Alameda County Communist Political Association functionaries including STEVE NELSON, whom T-1 has described as Organizer for the Communist Political Association in 1944, considered means of "exposing" WOLFE as a renegade Communist who was antagonistic to the Russian Government and therefore injurious to the United Nations war effort. In this same connection, it was reported by San Francisco T-2, of known reliability, that LOUISE BRANSTEN, was indignant that the applicant was being allowed to speak in San Francisco, and that she was desirous of getting individuals to interfere with the proposed lecture.

San Francisco T-3, of known reliability, has advised that LOUISE BRANSTEN joined the Communist Party in about 1936, and that she has been associated with Communist and Russian groups since that time. She is a woman of considerable financial means and has been a heavy contributor to Communist front groups. In 1943 she was active in the American Russian Institute in San Francisco, and at times acted as Secretary of that Institute. She was the acting Secretary during the period of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. The American Russian Institute, San Francisco, has been cited by the Attorney General as falling within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

San Francisco T-2 further advised that LUCILLE BURMAN was active in soliciting the cooperation of individuals familiar with Russia to attend this lecture in order that they might ask WOLFE "embarrassing questions".

San Francisco T-4, of known reliability, informed that LUCILLE BURMAN was recruited into the Communist Party in January, 1944, and was an active member of the Communist Political Association during its existence.

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- INFORMANT PAGE -

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San Francisco T-1 is   
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San Francisco T-3 is Anonymous  
San Francisco T-4 is Anonymous.

*John Page*

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| <del>61-6036</del>          | <del>352</del>  | <del>325</del>        |
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| <del>LI 100-3-74</del>      | <del>120</del>  | <del>390</del>        |
| <del>61-7590</del>          | <del>256</del>  |                       |
| <del>64-22166</del>         | <del>55</del>   |                       |
| Bertman David               |                 |                       |
| <del>SI 100-258542-50</del> |                 | ✓                     |
| <del>SI 100-26921-</del>    | <del>21</del>   |                       |
| <del>64-22166-</del>        | <del>60</del>   | ✓                     |
| <del>100-308095-</del>      | <del>5</del>    | ✓                     |
| <del>100-16-51-</del>       | <del>70</del>   |                       |

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| SI 100-3-14-   | 2676           |
| IL 65-40955-   | 162 ✓          |
| SI 100-3-20-   | 901, end p 622 |
| SI 100-211943- | 12 ✓           |
| W 100-334 143- | 15, 51, ✓      |
| SI 100-168180- | 12             |
| SI 100-203581- | 370, 35, 440   |
| SI 61-777-50-  | 47             |
| IL 100-12997-  | 48 ✓           |
| IL 61-8404-    | 143 ✓          |
| SI 100-206155- | 7              |
| SI 100-168153- | 9              |
| LI 100-259116- | 18             |

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| SI 100-254116- | 18                     |
| I 100-332851-  | 2 ✓                    |
| SI 100-18619-  | 22                     |
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| I 100-3-23-    | 488, 487, 490 ✓        |
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| I 100-17139-   | 93                     |
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I61-8404-189 ✓  
5161-1292-51  
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161-7559-2531 ✓  
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I61-8404-34 ✓  
I61-952 out A Daily ✓  
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I61-10123-18 ✓  
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100-335069-1 ✓  
100-159214-1 ✓  
74-1333-3220 end 252 ✓  
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I 101-4483-5 ✓

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L 64-200- 232-143 ✓  
SV 100-3-74- 1121 519  
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| I39-915-           | 507 ✓                          |
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| X61-7559-          | 1425, 1472, 1578, 1629, 2317 ✓ |
|                    | 12534, 3305, 3305, 3653X11 ✓   |

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| <u>101-7561-2-</u> | <u>50, ✓</u>    |
| <u>101-7562-</u>   | <u>190X, ✓</u>  |
| <u>101-7560-</u>   | <u>1142X, ✓</u> |
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L 61-8404-97 ✓ 160 ✓  
SI 100-3 sub 20-375  
SI 100-7826-29 ✓  
SI 100-63-245 ✓  
SI 100-74289-5 ✓  
SI 100-170969-8  
SI 61-8404-151 ✓  
SI 100-8231-20  
SI 100-258735-7  
L 100-202425-16 ✓  
SI 100-66887-12  
L 64-22166-60  
SI 61-1335-392 ✓

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I 61-7582-2-295 1940 ✓  
I 100-20187-59 ✓  
I 100-290700-122 ✓  
I 100-20351-49795 ✓  
SI 100-22166-70 ✓  
I 100-330600-255 ✓  
I 100-258512-28 ✓  
I 102-23170-154 159 160 ✓  
I 64-532 sub 22 14 ✓  
SI 100-275197-2 ✓  
I 64-2701-1322 ✓  
SI 100-234628 ✓  
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I 100-356137-A-lead ✓ 3/26/49  
SI 100-353453-1, encl. 4/6/  
SI 5-43302-3525  
I 61-7242-A-lead ✓ 3/26/49  
I 61-722-2-851  
SI 61-7608-5  
I 61-7590-201 ✓  
I 62-23170-146 p. 161 ✓  
I 61-1335-3968 ✓  
I 100-384454-2 ✓ Call 475  
I 61-7582-158 ✓ 1039 1286  
SI 100-3-2086  
I 100-352546-152 ✓

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I 100-36676-7

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I 61-7559-5672, 10321X1

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

| <u>FILE NUMBER</u>    | <u>SERIALS</u> | <u>I</u>   | <u>II</u>        |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------|------------------|
| <u>LT-7559-2</u>      | <u>4135</u>    | <u>973</u> | <u>158/159</u>   |
| <u>ST-7590-</u>       | <u>523</u>     | <u>39</u>  | <u>1043: 361</u> |
| <u>I 100-13758-</u>   | <u>64</u>      |            |                  |
| <u>I 100-769-</u>     | <u>48</u>      | <u>49</u>  | <u>495</u>       |
| <u>I 100-41572-</u>   | <u>8-</u>      |            |                  |
| <u>ST 100-110609-</u> | <u>20</u>      |            |                  |
| <u>ST 100-7559-</u>   | <u>400</u>     | <u>708</u> | <u>6703</u>      |
| <u>LT 100-7590-</u>   | <u>276</u>     |            |                  |
| <u>LT 100-7559-</u>   | <u>11533</u>   | <u>75</u>  | <u>11173 116</u> |
| <u>I 100-155500-</u>  | <u>1</u>       |            |                  |
| <u>I 39-915-</u>      | <u>592</u>     | <u>780</u> | <u>x</u>         |
| <u>ST 100-10689-</u>  | <u>28</u>      | <u>29</u>  |                  |
| <u>I 100-17826-</u>   | <u>657</u>     |            |                  |

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor

Room

4639

Subj:

Bertram D. Wolfe

☒ Exact Spelling

☒ All References

☐ Subversive Ref.

☐ Main File

☐ Restricted to Locality of

Searchers

Initial

Date

PCW

9-11-50

FILE NUMBER

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61-7559- 4773X5 ✓

61-7590- 171 ✓

72-23533- 7625 ✓

94-3-4-501- 77X ✓

100-24621- 12

100-3-4- 1594 Encl. p. 3137

144, 187, 195, 201, 219

259, 282, 296, 309

Page no.

322, 378, 379, 396

424, 441, 508, 629, 641

642, 836, 920, 961, 1076

1091, 1103, 1104, 1249

1272, 1275, 1532, 1543

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor W. L. R. R. Room 4639

Subj: Bertram H. Wolfe

☒ Exact Spelling  
☒ All References  
☐ Subversive Ref.  
☐ Main File  
☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_

Searchers  
Initial WLR  
Date 9/11/50

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100-3-41 1544 ✓  
1596 1603 1629 ✓  
1630 1645 1669 ✓  
1745 1747 1748 ✓  
1750 1754 1759 ✓  
1760 1771 1912 ✓  
2063 1698 3004 ✓  
IG4-2704- 449 ✓  
SG1-1292- 40 ✓  
I100-118061- 28 ✓  
W40-24621- 18 ✓  
IG2-23170- 143 308 ✓  
I100-155439- 61 ✓

*Call 475 for files*

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Holmquist

Room 4639

Subj: Bertrand al. Wafer

☐ Exact Spelling  
☐ All References  
☐ Subversive Ref.  
☐ Main File  
☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_

Searchers

Initial plb

Date 9/11/50

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SERIALS

SI 100-268519- 8

I 100-3-21- 168 ✓

L 61-4674-A-Respect ✓

World 7-1-44 ✓

SI 100-3-20- 366

LI 100-24621- 32X

L 61-8404- 101

I 100-336002- 9 ✓

SI 100-998- 40

LI 100-15375- 22

I 61-6022- 6 ✓

LI 100-33049-50- 13

I 100-12868- 24 ✓



336

SERVICE UNIT  
SEARCH SLIP

4-22a

Supervisor Hohoyd Room 4638

Subj: 68 D Wolfe

☒ Exact Spelling  
☐ All References  
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Date 7/17/53

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LT 100-352628-11, 12, 11, 23 ✓ I

ST 61-7559-1836X13

LT 100-16-35-50 ✓

22

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RECEIVED  
TELETYPE SECTION

SEP 27 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WASHINGTON 5 FROM BOSTON

9-27-50

3-08 PM EST

DIRECTOR,..... DEFERRED .....

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWENTYTHREE DASH FIVE SEVEN  
NINE ONE. REBULET SEPT. TWELVE LAST. UNABLE TO LOCATE REFERENCE  
KARPOVICH EITHER AT HOME OR UNIVERSITY. INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

THORNTON

END

ACK PLS

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8

BS R 5 WA JIM

58 DEC 1 1950

EX-68 RECORDED - 130

NOV 27 1950

34

100-10989  
New York

September 24, 1950

Director, FBI

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE

Principal Investigator - STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 40th Congress  
(WOLFE OF AMERICA)

rebuttal dated 9/12/50.

In addition to the information set forth in referenced letter the Bureau files reflect that Wolfe was a writer for the Workers, a Communist Party publication in 1920. Wolfe was also a member of the National Council of the Left Wing Socialist Party. Wolfe was also reported to be a director of the Marx Lenin School in 1929 and 1930. (61-7582-1298 pg. 1628) (61-7582-1298 pg. 1039) (Fish Comm. Report, Vol 2 pg. 18)

For the information of the New York Office the following files should be reviewed for information concerning the activities of Wolfe:

100-10989 The report of SA H. Campbell Garden, dated 4/19/44, in the case entitled "Workers Library Publishers, Inc., Internal Security - C, Registration Act." (100-24621-32X)

100-9078 New York letter to the Bureau, dated 6/14/41, which is a report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated 4/22/41. (61-10123-115)

100-18365 New York report of SA Russell S. Garner, 6/12/45, entitled "Jacob Abraham Stachel, was., Internal Security - C." (100-20187-59)

The following is a list of publications written by applicant Wolfe:

What Is The Communist Opposition?, published by the Communist Party, USA, 51 West 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-1592)

Marx and America, published by the John Davis Company, 300 4th Avenue, New York City (61-7559-2-6422)

The Trotsky Opposition, published by Workers Library Publishers, 125 East 125th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-1581)

Our Heritage From 1776, written by Wolfe in collaboration with Jay Lovestone and William F. Lamm, published by the Workers School, 100 East 14th Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-973)

The Russian Revolution, written by Rosa Luxemburg with an introduction by Wolfe, published by Workers Age Publishers, 131 West 13rd Street, New York City. (61-7559-2-2032)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

cc - 100-10989  
Section

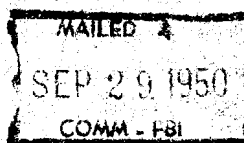
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Washington Field  
Seattle

123-5791



Ref. [signature]  
[signature]

SAC, New York

Things We Want to Know, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

(61-7559-2-2231)

Civil War in Spain, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

(61-7559-2-255)

What Is The Communist Opposition?, Workers Age Publishing Company, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

(61-7559-2-4136)

Economics of Present Day Capitalism, published by the New Workers School, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

(61-7559-2-24135)

Marxian Economics, published by the New Workers School, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

The San Francisco Office's attention is directed to their letter to the Bureau dated March 16, 1950, which sets forth information concerning [redacted]

The San Francisco Office's attention is also directed to their file 100-18377, the report of SA Warren E. Richmond, dated 8/28/44, entitled "The National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., Internal Security - R." Attention is also directed to your file 61-288, report of SA Warren E. Richmond, dated 8/2/44, in the case entitled, "American Russian Institute, Internal Security - R."

(66-254-13-47-2832) (100-4964)

For the information of the Seattle Field Division the applicant when applying for a position with the State Department advised that he was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and served on this committee in Moscow, Russia. He also advised that he was a former member of the American Communist Party. Your attention is directed to your file 65-606, the report of SA Thomas M. Kerndt, dated 4/28/45, entitled Osterwald Carl Brooks, wa., Internal Security - C." (100-20351-49)

It is requested that in addition the Seattle Field Division review all references concerning Kelfe appearing in the files of their office and set forth in report form all pertinent information concerning Kelfe's activities in the areas of the Seattle Field Division.

The above information is being furnished to the offices receiving a copy of this letter to assist them in conducting their investigation of Kelfe. This investigation should be handled expeditiously and by a mature, experienced, well qualified Agent. Reports should be submitted in this case as soon as possible.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *LL*

DATE: September 12, 1950

FROM : Mr. A. Rosen *O*SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Ladd       | _____ |
| Clegg      | _____ |
| Glavin     | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Tracy      | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Nease      | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

PURPOSE:

The above-captioned individual is an applicant under the Voice of America Program for the State Department. He has given as a reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

BACKGROUND:

When the applicant filled out Form DS-668 for the State Department, he advised that he was a former member of the Communist Party and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1929, and served on this Committee in Moscow, Russia. Wolfe gave as a reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard University.

On July 21, 1950, a detailed memorandum was prepared concerning the activities of Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. This memorandum sets forth information concerning an article written by Schlesinger which appeared in the August 1, 1950 issue of Look Magazine. It is to be noted that the Director's comment appearing on this memorandum is as follows: "This fellow is a stinker and it is outrageous that Look Magazine included our chart in Schlesinger's article." The above memorandum in its entirety is being attached for your information.

ACTION RECOMMENDED:

In view of the Bureau's past experiences with Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., it is recommended that he not be interviewed. A letter ordering investigation of Wolfe and stating that reference Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. not be interviewed is attached for your approval.

Attachments *OK*EMH:RGB *ac*

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INDEXED - 130

123-5791-7

NOV 27 1950

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EX-68

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
*St. Paul*  
*Emt*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 8 1950

TELETYPE

5723

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| Mr. Tolson  | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd    | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg   | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin  | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
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| Mr. Tracy   | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr    | _____ |
| Tele. Room  | _____ |
| Mr. Nease   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy  | _____ |

WASH FROM NEW YORK

75

2

900

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN  
NINE ONE. DUE TO INABILITY TO LOCATE CCNY RECORDS AND TO INTERVIEW  
JAY LOVESTONE THUS FAR, WILL SUREP OCT. ELEVEN, NEXT

SCHEIDT

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. **123-1425 PHJ**

|                                     |                                  |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>BOSTON</b>     | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>10-3-50</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>9-22, 25, 26, 28-30-50</b>  | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>JAMES V. GIBBONS</b> |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b> |                                  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - State Department<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |   |
|                                     |                                  | BY: <i>[Signature]</i>  |   |

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Reference KARPOVICH, faculty member, Harvard University, states his association with applicant has only been in effect since applicant renounced Communism. During this period of association he has observed nothing which would militate against him having access to restricted information of the U. S. Government. He believes that the applicant's change in political convictions was sincere. Recommends favorably.

AGENCY *cc: photo - Army*  
REQ. REC'D *12-15-50*  
REP'T FORW. *2-9-56*  
BY *Ceb*

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter to San Francisco, September 12, 1950.

**DETAILS:**

Reference

MICHAEL KARPOVICH, faculty member, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., advised that he has only been acquainted with the applicant during the period after the applicant renounced his affiliations in Communist affairs. Since that time he has observed nothing in the conduct, conversation or associates of the applicant which would militate against him now having access to restricted information of the U. S. Government. He stated that in his opinion the applicant's break with Communism was sincere and a conscientious undertaking. He apparently has remained steadfast in his present day political convictions and has evidenced no characteristics which would cause his loyalty or patriotism to be questioned.

AGENCY *OSI DIST OFF A*  
REQ. REC'D *11-17-50*  
REP'T FORW. *11-17-50*  
BY *[Signature]*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><i>[Signature]</i><br>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES<br><div style="text-align: right; font-weight: bold; font-size: 1.2em;">RECORDED - 13</div> |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>3 Bureau (123-5791)<br>1 Boston                 | 123-5791-9<br><i>[Handwritten notes and stamps]</i>  |

BS 123-1425

5742

Professor KARPOVICH says that as of the present time he feels that the applicant is a perfectly good security risk and if his services can be utilized in view of his background he would make a satisfactory employee.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

123-5791-9



Office

UM • UI

GOVERNMENT

DATE: October 6, 1950

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)  
Bufile 123-5791

Rebulet to New York September 28, 1950.

Report SA BURKE MITCHELL, San Francisco, September 25, 1950, sets forth pertinent information contained in reports and letter mentioned in reference letter. RUC.

BM:wap  
123-937  
AMSD

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EX. - 68

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|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson  | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd    | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg   | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin  | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen   | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy   | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr    | _____ |
| Tele. Room  | _____ |
| Mr. Nease   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy  | _____ |

10-11-50

WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO FROM WASH FIELD

11

7:40 pm

DIRECTOR AND SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, WOA. REBULET SEPT TWELVE. BUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. FILES OF CSC INDICATE NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO APPLICANT IN INDICES OF TWELFTH CSC REGION. SF REQUESTED TO REVIEW FILES AT CSC AND REPORT PERTINENT INFO THEREFROM WHICH HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN REPORTED BY YOUR OFFICE.

HOTTEL

HBM:ejb

123-5405

*Send SF*

*6/2/51*

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EX. 68

123-5791-11

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58 DEC 1 1950

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5720

SE FILE NO. 123-409

|                                     |                                      |   |   |           |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|-----------|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>SEATTLE</b>    | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>OCT 16 1950</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>10/13,16/50</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>ROY W. BLACK</b>   | <b>AK</b> |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b> |                                      |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |           |

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: BERTRAM WOLFE lectured before Institute of International Relations in June, 1944, and June, 1948. On first occasion Communist element in Seattle broke up his lecture and charged him with being a "Lovestonite and Trotskyite and pro-Hitler." No information received as to any activities in Seattle other than foregoing lecture appearances. The subject matter of his lectures reportedly related to historical discussions of past and present Russian-American relations.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to New York dated September 28, 1950

DETAILS:

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

HARRY BURKS of the American Friends Service, 3959 15th N.E., was interviewed. BURKS said the American Friends Service, a Quaker organization, sponsored the Institute of International Relations at the University of Washington in 1944 and 1948 on which occasions BERTRAM WOLFE was one of the lecturers and principal speakers. He said he was not connected with the American Friends Service at that time but he produced a file which he said contained all of the pertinent material relating to WOLFE's appearances in Seattle.

As for his appearance in 1948 the file contained no digest or summaries of any of WOLFE's lectures. It appeared that the Institute held

|   |                         |                              |                               |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><b>J.B. Wilson</b>             | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES | RECORDED - 130                |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>3 - Bureau (AMSD)<br>1 - Seattle |                         | OCT 18 1950<br>8             | EX - 68<br>JEF:jms<br>12-2-52 |

SE 123-409

its meetings between June 13 and June 20, 1948, and WOLFE appeared on the schedule on five different days. The dates and subject matters of his discussions were as follows:

|         |                                     |
|---------|-------------------------------------|
| June 13 | "Whither American-Soviet Relations" |
| June 14 | "Old and New in the New Russia"     |
| June 15 | "What is the Soviet System"         |
| June 16 | "The Struggle for Civil Liberties"  |
| June 17 | "Russia and the Peace"              |

The only printed material relating to WOLFE's lectures appeared in the Institute's report on its annual session which commented on WOLFE's lectures stating that he criticized the aggressive policies and actions of the Soviet Union in such a way as to "lead some in attendance to conclude there was no peaceful solution to American-Russian tension."

BURKS said that LOLA WILLIAMS, who is presently connected with the Unitarian Church in Seattle at the campus, took an active part in the Institute's proceedings in 1944 and 1948 and would be in a position to furnish information concerning them.

Miss LOLA WILLIAMS was interviewed at 1405 East 40th Street, Seattle, and gave the following information. She had coordinated and directed the Institute's meetings during 1948 and had assisted in the proceedings in 1944. To her knowledge no printed material exists of any of WOLFE's lectures or statements other than a printed copy of his initial speech in 1944, which speech was disrupted by the Communists. This printed speech would probably be in the files of the American Friends Service.

Miss WILLIAMS stated she had frequent contact with WOLFE during his appearances in 1944 and 1948. Their conversations were, however, not intimate nor did WOLFE expound his political or social views to her. She said that from his lectures she gained the definite impression that he was violently anti-Communist in so far as the present Russian regime is concerned. She also expressed the opinion that WOLFE impressed her as being a very conscientious and sincere person. She stated she would have no reason to think that his intentions and objectives were any different from those which he stated on the lecture platform. To the best of her recollection he lived at the Edmond Meany Hotel in 1948 and at the Helen Bush school in 1944 during his lecture appearances. To her knowledge he had no close friends in Seattle and confined his activities to the work of the Institute.

123-1791-12

SE 123-409

As for the opinion of the content of his talks in 1948 as set forth in the Institute's report on its annual session, Miss WILLIAMS said these comments would have been the editorial opinion of TOM HUNT who was then in charge of the reporting of the proceedings and who is now in Pasadena, California.

With reference to WOLFE's appearances in Seattle in 1944, the official position of the Communist Political Association in Seattle at the time is evidenced by a letter dated June 29, 1944, from the Washington State Communist Political Association, 304 Marion Street, Seattle 4, Washington, addressed to ALLAN POMEROY, Assistant U. S. Attorney in Seattle. This letter calls for an investigation of the activities of the American Friends Service Committee and its conducting an Institute of International Relations. The letter states "This so-called Institute also had as one of its speakers a Lovestonite-Trotskyite, BERT WOLFE, who makes his living by going around attacking Russia and repeating GOEBBELS' propaganda. BERT WOLFE is a member of the Bukharinite group which carried on fifth column - pro-Hitler work in Russia."

With further reference to the Seattle Communist attitude toward WOLFE in 1944, Confidential Informant T-1 of known reliability stated on July 6, 1944, that WOLFE's appearances had been discussed at a branch meeting of the Communist Political Association in Seattle on July 4, 1944. At this meeting CARL REEVE, the then district secretary of the Communist Political Association, told the group that BERTRAM WOLFE had been "kicked out" of the Communist Party in 1929 and was "supposed to be a paid agent of Hitler - that he had been expelled the same time as LOVESTONE." This source also referred to the Communists appearing at WOLFE's initial lecture and by heckling and questioning from the floor succeeded in having the meeting broken up.

It is noted that the file of the American Friends Service contained newspaper clippings and references to the Communist activities at WOLFE's appearance in 1944. The file also contained a transcript of his speech which he was scheduled to give on that occasion and which he gave the following morning before a limited audience. This speech was delivered on June 22, 1944, and was captioned "Russia at the Peace Table." In this transcript WOLFE makes the observation that the present Russian regime is not going toward socialism but rather in the direction of her "national self interests as understood by her leaders." He fixed 1934 as the year when Russia showed a marked change in its objective in that it publicly announced its willingness to deal with fascism, a policy which WOLFE contends Russia followed until the German invasion in 1941.

SE 123-409

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WOLFE called attention to the formation in Moscow of groups known as the German Prisoners Committee, German Officers Committee and German Anti-Fascist Committee. WOLFE stated that these committees were formed as early as 1941 and illustrated Russia's intention of maintaining a military corps which could be of use to Russia following the peace in promoting Russia's welfare. In his transcript WOLFE also made favorable references to the Atlantic Charter and offered the American position as embodied by that Charter as a solution to peaceful negotiations at the peace table.

REFERRER UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11-16-88  
SE 123-409

INFORMANT PAGE

T-1



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Adm Page

OCT 20 1961

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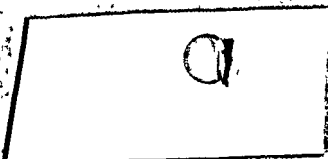
NEW YORK 38 A FROM WASH DC 20 8-17 P  
SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA, REBULET DATED SEPTEMBER SECOND LAST  
AND REPORT OF SA VICTOR A. LEMAITRE DATED OCTOBER TENTH LAST.  
CHECK CREDIT AND CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT-S BROTHERS PAUL AND HENRY  
WOLFE. CHECK CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT-S WIFE ELLA G. WOLFE.  
SUREP FOR INCLUSION IN REFERENCE REPORT.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS





|                |       |
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| Mr. Tolson     | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd       | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg      | _____ |
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| Mr. Holloman   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy     | _____ |

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10-19-50

WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO FROM WASH FIELD 19 11a

DIRECTOR AND SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. RETEL FROM S.F. OCT. FOURTEEN AND WFO TEL TO SF OCT. TWELVE. CSC RECORDS HERE REFER TO CSC TWELFTH REGION FILE S DASH ONE ONE FOUR DASH TEN, ELEVEN IN ONLY ONE INSTANCE NOT KNOWN IF ALL TWELFTH REGION INFO IS IN THIS FILE. HANDLE.

HOTTEL

HEM:MR

123-5405

*[Handwritten signature]*

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EX - 68

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SAC SAN FRANCISCO

OCT. 13, 1950

3:07 p.m.

SAC WASHINGTON FIELD

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, YOA. REURTEL OCT. TWELVE LAST. CSC TWELFTH REGION  
CANNOT LOCATE INFORMATION RE APPLICANT WITHOUT FILE REFERENCES. FURNISH  
REFERENCES AS APPEARING ON INDEX CARDS, CSC, WASHINGTON, D.C.

KIMBALL

FPP/bw  
123-937  
cc: Bureau (123-5791)

*Refer to WFO*  
*123-5791-✓*

*6/2/51*

Am

5719

OCTOBER 20, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA, REBULET DATED SEPTEMBER SECOND LAST  
AND REPORT OF SA VICTOR A. LEMAITRE DATED OCTOBER TENTH LAST.  
CHECK CREDIT AND CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT'S BROTHERS  
PAUL AND HENRY WOLFE. CHECK CRIMINAL RECORDS ON APPLICANT'S  
WIFE ELLA G. WOLFE. SUREP FOR INCLUSION IN REFERENCE REPORT.

HOOVER

EMH:PO

123-5791

RECORDED - 130  
INDEXED - 130

123-5711-14

EX - 68

RECEIVED  
FBI  
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE  
OCT 20 5 22 PM '50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

8-17P Em

52 DEC 5 1950

Am

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

5714

FILE NO. 123-937

|  |                                   |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>10/24/50</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>10/13, 19, 23/50</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>FRANK P. POLLNER ml</b>  |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>    |                                   |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Records of San Francisco T-5, another governmental agency, reflect that the "Militant", Socialist Workers Party publication on 7/8/44 reported that "Stalinist Gangs" broke up a meeting held under the auspices of the American Friends (Quaker) Service Committee in Seattle, Washington, at which WOLFE was to speak. The "San Francisco Chronicle" of 7/22/44 reports answer by WOLFE to protest of him as scheduled speaker in San Francisco.

AGENCY *from photo*  
REQ. REC'D *8-15-50*  
REP'T FORW *9-4-50*  
BY *cc*

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Washington Field teletypes dated 10/12/50 and 10/19/50.

**DETAILS:** AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The records of San Francisco T-5, another governmental agency which conducts personnel investigations, reflect that the "Militant", Socialist Workers Party publication, under dateline of July 8, 1944 at Seattle, Washington reports that "Stalinist Gangs" broke up Quaker meetings. The article states that at an Institute of International Relations under the auspices of the American Friends and Quaker Service Committee held at the Pilgrim Congregation Church a scheduled speaker, BERTRAM WOLFE, who is described as a former leader of the "defunct Lovestone group and renegade from Marxism" whose subject was to be "Russia at the Peace Table," attempted for ten minutes to deliver his lecture but was finally shouted down by a group described as a "Stalinist Gang" and the chairman was compelled to adjourn the completely disrupted meeting.

AGENCY *MASS*  
REQ. REC'D *11/15/50*  
REP'T FORW *11/25/50*  
BY *OUT*

|  |                         |  |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED<br><i>Harry M. Kimball</i>  | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES<br><b>123-5711-15</b> <b>RECORDED - 151</b> |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>3-Bureau (ALSD) (123-5791)<br>1-San Francisco                                     |                         | <b>EX-68</b>   |
| <p><i>cc - state 11/2/50</i></p> <p><i>cc - [unclear] 11/2/50</i></p> <p><i>cc - [unclear] 11/2/50</i></p> |                         |  |

PROPERTY OF FBI-THIS CONFIDENTIAL REPORT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI AND ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE OF AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

Records of this agency also reflect that the "San Francisco Chronicle" on July 22, 1944 reports that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, whose scheduled appearance at a lecture in San Francisco disclosed a protest from local members of the National Maritime Union, gave a vigorous denial to the statements made about him. The National Maritime Union's assertion was that WOLFE is "a known Trotskyite, has made vigorous slanderous statements against the heroic Soviet People, propounds a program of 'peace now' ---the program of HITLER and HITLER'S allies."

According to the article, WOLFE stated, "all three statements are falsehoods, I am not now or have I ever been a Trotskyite. The only notice the late LEON TROTSKY ever took of my person was to attack me in an open letter for a critical article concerning him." WOLFE denied that he had ever written a slanderous statement concerning Soviet People, but stated "What they mean is that I have been critical of STALIN at times." He also stated that he was not connected with or had ever been connected with the "Peace Now" movement and stated that he did not favor a peace with HITLER or the present regime in Germany or Japan.

The article described WOLFE as a scheduled speaker on "Russia in the Post War World" to be held July 25, 1944 at the Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, and states that he is one who reviews books on Russia and South America for the "New York Times" and is planning to do research at the Hoover War Library, Stanford University, on a book entitled "Three Who Made a Revolution", which book, according to the article, analyzes the relationship between LENIN, TROTSKY and STALIN.

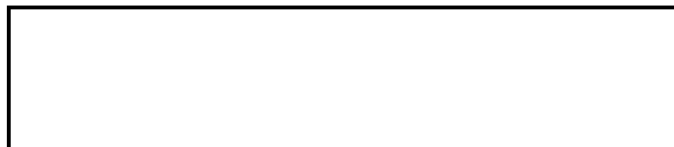
- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

5716

SF-123-937

SOURCE PAGE

T-5



b7E

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 30 1950

9 5/16  
TELETYPE

NEW YORK ~~36A~~ FROM WASH DC 30 8-10P

SAC DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REBUTEL DATED OCTOBER TWENTY LAST. SUTEL RESULTS OF CREDIT AND CRIMINAL CHECK REQUESTED IN REFERENCED TEL.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS

## Form No. 1

5713

REPORT MADE AT

**DATE WHEN  
MADE**

10/21/50

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

9/14,18;10/3,6,  
9,11/50

REPORT MADE BY

**HUGH B. MC GAHEY**

HBM:EAM

**TITLE**

**BERTRAN DAVID WOLFE**

**CHARACTER OF CASE**

**SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT**  
**Public Law 402, 80th Congress**  
**(VOICE OF AMERICA)**

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

HCUA Files reflect applicant was the representative of the American Communist Party at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Russia, from July, 1925, to September, 1928; member of the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party in 1919; writer for "The Toiler," one of the first Communist publications to appear in the United States. Applicant was Communist Party candidate for the Twenty-third Assembly, District of Brooklyn, New York, in 1925, and Communist Party candidate for the Nineteenth Congressional District of Brooklyn, New York, in 1928. Files of the CSC and CIA contained no additional pertinent information. Passport file, Department of State, not available for review. Security files Department of State contained no information pertaining to the applicant. Files of G-2, Department of the Army, contained no identifiable information with the applicant.

**AGENCY**

REQ. REC'D 2-2-57

REP'T FORM. 2-91-57

BY all the

- RUC -

**AGENCY**

REQ. REC'D 8-15-56

REP'T FORM. 7-4-56

BY J. C. [Signature]

### REFERENCES:

**Bureau file #123-5791**

Bureau letter to San Francisco dated September 12, 1950.

AGENCY: OSI DIST OFF 4

REG. REC'D. 11/15/52

REP'T, FORW. 11/25/5

BY CARD-TAS

APPROVED AND  
FORWARDED:

**SPECIAL AGENT**  
**IN CHARGE**

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

RECORDED - 130  
INDEXED - 84

EX - 68

Photo - 17  
JE F. Jhu  
17-4-52

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WFO 123-5405

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contained the following information regarding the applicant:

On page 39 and 40, their report 209, entitled "The Communist Party of the United States," as an agent of a foreign power, it was revealed that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Representative of the American Communist Party at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Russia, July, 1925, to September, 1928.

He was also called to Moscow in 1929 to discuss the factional situation in the American Communist Party.

It will be noted that the Communist Party has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE was chosen as a member of the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party at the conference held in New York, New York, on June 21, 1919. The objective of the conference was to affiliate the Socialist Party with the Third (or Communist) International.

During 1920, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a writer for "The Toiler." "The Toiler" was one of the first Communist publications to appear in the United States.

The above information appears in appendix #9, pages 1039 and 1628, of the hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Congress, Second Session.

An index card in the indices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows that the applicant resigned from the Lovestone Group of the Communist Party in 1930.

This card further reflects that he had served on the Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America; was Director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist Party; and was Associate Editor of the "Revolutionary Age."

A copy of the findings of the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee for the State of Washington for 1948, maintained in the files of

the House Committee on Un-American Activities, reflects that a letter, signed by HENRY HUFF and [redacted] President and Secretary, respectively, of the Washington State Communist Political Association, had been sent to the Mayor and City Council in Seattle in June, 1944, in which BERTRAM WOLFE was referred to as follows:

b6  
b7C

"Another faculty member advertised by this institution is BERTRAM WOLFE. He is one of America's most notorious Lovestonite—Trotskyites, who was expelled from the Communist movement many years ago because of his Fascist and reactionary connections. BERTRAM WOLFE is listed as a lecturer on Russia. He is one of the rabid, professional anti-Soviet agitators in this country, and consequently, is opposed to this country's friendly relations and collaboration with Russia."

The Daily Worker issue for October 14, 1925, reflects that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Communist Party candidate for the Twenty-third Assembly, District of Brooklyn, New York.

The Daily Worker for March 17, 1927, lists the applicant as one of the speakers at a public meeting held at the Labor Temple, 14th Street, 2nd Avenue, New York, New York, at which time the "Hands Off China Conference" was organized.

The Daily Worker for October 11, 1928, shows that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Communist Party candidate of New York State for the Nineteenth Congressional District of Brooklyn, New York.

The investigative files of the Investigations Division of the Civil Service Commission contained no additional pertinent information regarding the applicant.

Special Agent L. RUSSELL WHARRY checked the files of the Central Intelligence Agency and ascertained they contained no additional pertinent information.

The files of G-2, Department of the Army, which were checked by Special Agent KEITH J. STINSON, contained no information identifiable with the applicant.

There was no information regarding the applicant in the files of the Security Division of the Department of State according to information

WFO 123-5405

received by Special Agent JOHN V. JACKOLSKI from MR. LOUIS M. DRURY,  
Security Division, Department of State.

MISS MILDRED SMITH, of the Passport Division, of the Department of State, advised Special Agent GEORGE G. DUFFY that the passport file for the applicant was not available for review at the present time, and she could not furnish any information as to when this file would be available.

-- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN --

WFO 123-5405

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Referral/Consult

*Adm Page*

[REDACTED]

The San Francisco Division was advised by teletype dated  
October 11, 1950, to review the files of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

The above information is not included in the details of this report inasmuch as it is believed that the New York and San Francisco Divisions, who have conducted extensive investigations of the applicant, will include same in their reports as deemed pertinent to them.

The information appearing in the applicant's passport file at the Department of State will be made the matter of a supplementary report when this file becomes available.

*Adm Page*

The report of Special Agent WARREN W. RICHMOND, dated October 4, 1944, at San Francisco, California, entitled "BARTLEY CAVANAUGH CRUM, WA., Security Matter - C" contains a reference to the applicant in which it is stated that in July of 1944 many informants in the San Francisco Office advised that office that the Communist Party in San Francisco was planning measures to be taken to protest and prevent a series of lectures in the San Francisco Bay Area to be given by BERTRAM WOLFE, who was described by various Communists as a Trotskyite and renegade Communist who was pledging "Peace Now," and was generally Fascist in his point of view.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked by Special Employee [redacted] and the reporting agent.

b6  
b7C

*Adm Page*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 31 1950

TELETYPE

|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson  | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd    | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg   | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin  | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen   | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy   | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr    | _____ |
| Tele. Room  | _____ |
| Mr. Nease   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy  | _____ |

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 14 A 31 1023 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, VOA. REBUFILE ONE TWENTY THREE FIVE SEVEN NINE  
ONE, AND BUREAU TELE OCTOBER THIRTY. NO CREDIT RATING HENRY WOLFE,  
GOOD CREDIT RATING PAUL WOLFE. NO CRIMINAL RECORD ELLA G., HENRY  
OR PAUL WOLFE, NYC. REPORT FOLLOWS.

SCHEIDT

HOLD PLS

RECORDED - 130

EX - 68

123-5791-18  
NOV 27 1950  
34

58 OCT 1 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUN

Transmit the following message to:

OCTOBER 30, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REBUTEL DATED OCTOBER TWENTY LAST.

SUTEL RESULTS OF CREDIT AND CRIMINAL CHECK REQUESTED IN REFERENCED  
TEL.

HOOVER

123-5791

EMH:pg

RECORDED - 130

123-5791-17

OCT 30 5 29 PM '50  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

EX - 68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 30 1950

TELETYPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT VIA

5 DEC 1 1950

Per



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CG-150

To: COMMUN

Transmit the following message to:

NOVEMBER 3, 1950

DEFERRED

SAC NEW YORK

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REURTEL OCTOBER THIRTY ONE LAST.  
ADVISING REPORT FOLLOWS. SUBMIT REPORT TO REACH BUREAU NOT  
LATER THAN NOVEMBER SIX NEXT.

HOOVER

123-5791

EMH:pg

RECORDED - 130

NOV 27 1950

EX - 68

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

RECEIVED READING ROOM

NOV 3 1 01 PM '50

NOV 3 15 20 PM '50

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI  
RECEIVED-ADJ.

SENT VIA 1950

Per

NOV 18 1951

TELETYPE

NEW YORK 31 FROM WASH DC

3

6-01 PM

SAC

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. VOA. REURTEL OCTOBER THIRTY ONE LAST. ADVIS-  
ING REPORT FOLLOWS. SUBMIT REPORT TO REACH BUREAU NOT LATER THAN  
NOVEMBER SIX NEXT.

HOOVER

HOLD PLS

*tu*  
Date: November 7, 1950

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

To: Mr. Donald L. Nicholson  
Chief  
Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

There are transmitted herewith <sup>eight</sup> ~~the following~~ reports covering the completed investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the above-named person:

Encl. *20*  
*20*  
*20*

BY SPL. MSGR.

NOV 8 - 1950

COMM - FBI

52 DEC 5 1950

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*R. Star*  
*R. Star*  
*Emt*

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

Report of Special Agent James V. Gibbons, dated October 3, 1950  
at Boston, Massachusetts.

Report of Special Agent Roy W. Black, dated October 16, 1950  
at Seattle, Washington.

Please advise this Bureau of the ultimate disposition which  
is made of this case.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

NY FILE NO. 123-3898 AIP

|   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>NEW YORK</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>11/1/50</b>  | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>10/23, 25, 30/50</b>   | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>C. LEE SNICEYBOS</b>   |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>   | CHRO: <u>State Dept</u><br>REQ. REC'D <u>12-15-50</u><br><b>JAN 6 1961</b><br>ANS.<br>BY: <u>ads</u> <u>2nd</u> |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |
| SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:<br><br><div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>AGENCY photo - Army</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <u>5-15-56</u><br/>           REP'T FORM <u>9-4-56</u><br/>           BY <u>go</u> <u>cc</u></p> </div> <div style="width: 65%;"> <p>LOUIS BUDENZ advises WOLFE considered enemy by Communists. States WOLFE now a sincere anti-Communist. No credit rating, HENRY WOLFE; good credit rating, PAUL WOLFE, N.Y.C. No criminal record, N.Y.C., HENRY, PAUL or ELLA G. WOLFE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- R U C -</p> <p><i>AGENCY photo</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <u>11-15-57</u><br/>           REP'T FORM <u>11-25-57</u><br/>           BY <u>ad</u> <u>TR</u></p> </div> </div>   |   |  |   |
| REFERENCE: Bureau File #123-5791<br>Bureau teletype October 30, 1950.   |   |  |   |
| DETAILS: <u>Miscellaneous:</u><br><br><p>In October, 1950, Mr. LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former editor of "The Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, advised SA J. MCCARTHY, that he knew BERTRAM WOLFE when WOLFE was a member of the Communist Party and after he left the party. Mr. BUDENZ said that while he, BUDENZ, was in the Party, the Communists regarded WOLFE as an enemy of the Party.</p> <p>Mr. BUDENZ said he considers Mr. WOLFE a sincere anti-Communist over whom the Party exercised no control after his, WOLFE's break from the Party.</p> <p><i>100-470</i><br/> <i>1-29-52</i><br/> <i>100-470</i><br/> <i>1-29-52</i><br/> <i>100-470</i><br/> <i>1-29-52</i></p> <p><i>Photo - INS</i><br/> <i>JFF - Jhan</i><br/> <i>12-2-52</i></p> <p><u>Credit:</u><br/>         The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York</p> |   |  |   |
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <u>Edward J. L...</u>   |   | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  |   |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>3 - Bureau<br>1 - New York   |   | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES<br><br><div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p><b>133-5791-20</b></p> <p><b>NOV 9 1950</b></p> <p><b>3</b></p> <p><i>6/2/50</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <p><b>RECORDED - 130</b></p> <p><b>INDEXED - 130</b></p> <p><b>EX-68</b></p> </div> </div> |   |

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NY 123-3898

contain no record of HENRY WOLFE and a good credit rating for PAUL WOLFE.

Criminal:

✓ The files of the New York City Police Department contain no record, as reported by SA AUGUST J. MICEK, of HENRY, PAUL or ELLA G. WOLFE.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

11-1-50  
NY 123-3898

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York  
were checked by SE RALPH G. MURDY.

*Adm Page*

5708

NOV 17 1950

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington, D. C.

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress  
(VOICE OF AMERICA)

Transmitted herewith for consideration under Executive Order 9835 are copies of reports of investigation conducted by this Bureau in discharging its responsibilities under Public Law 402, 80th Congress. It will be noted that these reports in order to comply with the above Public Law necessarily contain information concerning character and reputation, a type of information not ordinarily included in reports of investigation conducted pursuant to Executive Order 9835. No additional investigation will be conducted under the Loyalty Program, unless specifically requested.

Report of Special Agent Victor A. Lemaitre, dated October 10, 1950 at New York, New York.

Report of Special Agent C. Lee Snoeyenbos, dated November 1, 1950 at New York, New York.

Report of Special Agent Hugh B. McGahey, dated October 24, 1950 at Washington, D. C.

Report of Special Agent Burke Mitchell, dated September 25, 1950 at San Francisco, California.

Report of Special Agent Frank P. Pollner, dated October 24, 1950 at San Francisco, California.

Report of Special Agent Gus M. Moore (A), dated September 25, 1950 at Newark, New Jersey.

Enclosures

123-5791

EMH:PEL

NOV 18 1950

RECORDED - 130

-68

Resu...

50 DEC 1 1950

STATISTICS TAKEN

STATISTICS

STATISTICS

- Tolson
- Nease
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tels. Room
- Gandy



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY FILE NO. 123-3898 edi

|   |                                   |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>NEW YORK</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>10/10/50</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>9/18-22, 25-29;<br/>10/2-4/50</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>VICTOR A. LEMAITRE</b>   |
| TITLE<br><b>BERNARD WOLFE</b> SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR<br>ADD. DISSEMINATION. |                                   |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

*C*  
AGENCY Photo USA  
REQ. REC'D 2-7-57  
REP'T FORW. 2-3-57  
BY SC

WOLFE born 1/19/96, Brooklyn, NY. Graduated CCNY, 1916. Studied at University of Mexico in early 1920's. Obtained M.A. Degree from Columbia University, 1931. Employment records set out. WOLFE was member of CP, 1919 to 1929, was Director of Workers School, Director of Agitation and Propaganda, and American Delegate to Executive Committee of Communist International, Moscow, USSR. Followed J. LOVESTONE out of CP and became member of "Communist Opposition" in early 1930's. Was member of Keep America Out of War Congress, 1939. Has published numerous books, latest of which is "Three Who Made Revolution", a study of Russian revolutionary leaders. Reference Professor SIDNEY HOOK and present associates believe break with Communist ideology is completely sincere. BENJAMIN GITLOW believes WOLFE still retains Marxist-Leninist ideology, although opposed to STALIN. Credit rating good, NYC. No criminal record, NYC.

*C. 1-2-9-18.*  
AGENCY photo Army  
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BY J. C. C.

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## REFERENCE:

Bureau file 123-5791.  
Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/50.  
Bureau letter to New York, 9/28/50.

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| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><i>Edward J. [Signature]</i>                    | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES |               |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>④ - Bureau<br>1 - New York<br><b>COPY IN FILE</b> |                         | 123-5791-22                  | SE 28         |
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GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 123-3898

DETAILS:

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Birth

The records of the Board of Health, Borough of Brooklyn, reflect under Certificate Number 18615 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was born January 19, 1896 at Brooklyn, New York. His father was WILLIAM WOLFE, a dry goods jobber, age 35, who was born in Germany. His mother was RACHAEL SAMTER, a housewife, age 35, who was born in New York City. At the time of WOLFE'S birth, the family resided at 68 Leonard Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Education

Mr. CARL H. UTSINGER, Assistant to the Registrar, College of the City of New York, 137th Street and Convent Avenue, advised SA ROBERT J. BURTON that according to the records of his office, BERTRAM D. WOLFE entered the College of the City of New York in September, 1913 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in February, 1916. The records reflect that WOLFE took general courses, but no other information is available.

Mr. UTSINGER stated that it would be almost impossible to trace the names of WOLFE'S instructors because of the lapse of time and because of the vague records which were maintained during the period 1900 to 1916.

Dean JAMES S. PEACE, Associate Dean of Student Life, College of the City of New York, advised SA ROBERT J. BURTON that there was no record of disciplinary action taken against WOLFE and no record of questionable activities on his part during his years at the College of the City of New York.

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, reflect that on June 21, 1916, Professor PAUL KLAPPER, Associate Professor of Education, College of the City of New York, described WOLFE as "a young man of ability, initiative and capacity for work".

"Who's Who in America", 1948-1949 Edition, reflects that WOLFE studied at the University of Mexico, Mexico City, from 1922 to 1925.

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On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that he attended the University of Mexico from 1922 to 1925 and that he majored in literature.

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, contain an application form, dated September 23, 1929, filed by BERTRAM D. WOLFE in which he stated that from 1923 to 1924 he took courses in Spanish, Mexican and Comparative Literature at the University of Mexico, Mexico City.

Mrs. SHIRLEY WHITE, Clerk, Graduate Faculties Records Section, Registrar's Office, Columbia University, advised SA VERNON G. SMITH that BERTRAM D. WOLFE took courses at Columbia University from February to June, 1916, from September, 1929 to June, 1930, and from September, 1930 to June, 1931. He majored in Spanish and received a Master of Arts Degree on December 16, 1931.

Miss OLGA BLONDET, Bibliographer, Spanish Department, Columbia University, advised SA VERNON G. SMITH that she did not recall WOLFE and that no one is available in the department who would be likely to remember him inasmuch as it was twenty years ago that he was a graduate student.

#### Employment

The records of the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, were made available by Mr. IRVING SOMMERS, Clerk, and reflected that BERTRAM D. WOLFE served as a substitute teacher in English at Boys High School, Brooklyn, from September 22, 1916 to September 24, 1917, a total of 188 teaching days. According to these records, WOLFE made a favorable impression on Dr. WILLIAM FISHER, Chairman of the English Department, and on Mr. ARTHUR L. JANIS, Principal of the school.

The Board of Education records further reflect that a Temporary License was denied to WOLFE on June 22, 1917 for failure to pass the oral examination on June 14, 1917.

On September 23, 1929, WOLFE applied to the Board of Education for a position as teacher of Spanish. A license was refused, however, on the grounds of failure in the second interview test. WOLFE'S application reflected that from January, 1923 to July, 1926, he taught at the

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Escuela Superior Dr. Mora, Mexico City, Mexico, and at the Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City, Mexico. He was head of the Department of Modern Languages at the latter school.

At the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, Mr. ALGERNON LEE, President, and Mr. THEODORE SCHAPIRO, Executive Director, were unable to verify that WOLFE was employed by the Rand School from 1918 to 1919. Mr. SCHAPIRO stated that no records exist for the years 1918 and 1919 inasmuch as the school is not required by law to keep such records.

On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that he was Publicity Director at the Rand School of Social Science from 1918 to 1919.

At the Eron Preparatory School, 853 Broadway, Mr. GEORGE TOLK, Director of the school, advised that no personnel records are available for the period 1929 to 1934 and that WOLFE'S employment as an instructor at the school during that time could not, therefore, be verified.

On his Request for Investigation Data form, WOLFE stated that from 1929 to 1934, he was a teacher at the Eron Preparatory School.

Mr. SAMUEL FRIEDWALD, an instructor at the Eron Preparatory School, advised that he knew BERTRAM D. WOLFE when he taught at the school in the early 1930's. Mr. FRIEDWALD recalled that WOLFE had been a good teacher and had shown a thorough knowledge of the subjects he taught. Mr. FRIEDWALD was under the impression that these subjects had included English, Spanish and some history.

#### Miscellaneous

*NY 123-3898* - According to "Who's Who in America", 1948-1949 Edition, BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, a writer, was born in New York on January 19, 1896. He is the son of WILLIAM D. WOLFE and RAY SALTER WOLFE. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree at the College of the City of New York in 1916; he studied at the University of Mexico from 1922 to 1925; and received a Master of Arts Degree from Columbia University in 1931. On April 18, 1917, WOLFE was married to ELLA GOLDBERG. He has been a teacher at Boys High School, Brooklyn, New York (1916 to 1917), and at the Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City (1922 to 1925). He was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929 and has been a free lance writer since 1934. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. WOLFE is author of the following books:

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"Portrait of America", 1934,

"Portrait of Mexico", 1937,

"Civil War in Spain", 1937,

"Diego Rivera, His Life and Times", 1939,

"Keep America Out of War", 1939,

"Deathless Days", 1940,

"Three Who Made Revolution", 1948.

WOLFE'S home is at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The indices of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., contain the titles of other books written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE as follows:

"How Class Collaboration Works", published by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, 1926,

"Our Heritage from 1776", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1926,

"What is Communist Opposition?", published by the Communist Party, New York, 1933,

"Things We Want to Know", published by the Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1934,

"Marx and America", published by the John Day Publishing Company, New York, 1934,

"Nature of the Capitalist Crisis", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1935,

"Trotsky Opposition", published by the Workers Library, no location given, no date indicated.

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The indices of the Library of Congress reflect that WOLFE was also the Editor of the magazine, "The Communist", from November, 1927 to December, 1928.

"The Workers Monthly", organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, February, 1926, Pages 154 to 160, contained an article written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE and JACK STACHEL on "Lenin, The American Working Class and Its Party". In this article, the authors declare that dictatorship of the proletariat was valid for the United States and that this country could not escape violent revolution. They advocated the establishment of powerful Communist Party factions in the labor unions.

The Workers Party of America has been cited by the Attorney General as an organization seeking to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means and as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The January 3, 1939 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities states: "In December, 1921, the Workers Party of America was formed as a camouflage for the real Communist Party of America, which maintained its existence underground. In 1925, the official name was changed to Worker's (Communist) Party of America, and at a convention held in March, 1928, the Communists finally threw off all camouflage and boldly came out into the open as the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The "New York Times" of July 17, 1926 contained an article indicating that WOLFE had presided at a debate held by the Workers Party at the Central Opera House in connection with a mass meeting of the Interborough Rapid Transit strikers. The debate was between HIRAM MANN of the National Security League and J. LOVESTONE of the Workers Party on the subject "Resolved that our present form of Government is in the interests of the American masses". LOVESTONE took the negative in this debate.

The New York Public Library contains the 1926-1927 Announcement of Courses of the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street, New York City, reflecting that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the Director of the school.

The 1928-1929 Announcement of Courses of the Workers School, available at the New York Public Library, listed BERTRAM D. WOLFE as Director and as member of the Executive Committee of the school.

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The Workers School, New York City, has been cited in the March 29, 1944 Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Pages 89 and 168, as "an official Communist Party school" whose teachers were invariably members of the Communist Party.

As noted previously in this report, WOLFE was the author of an article entitled "Our Heritage from 1776", sub-title "A Working Class View of the First American Revolution", published in 1926, which is available at the New York Public Library. WOLFE'S article was entitled: "Whose Revolution is It?" and stated that the American revolution of 1776 was the first revolution, while the Communists were the natural leaders and instigators of the second and more complete revolution. WOLFE claimed that conditions in 1926 were very similar to those of 1776. WOLFE compared the Communists to the early colonists who fought against the British. He claimed the revolution of 1776 did not free the American working man who had nothing to celebrate on this occasion because "it was a bourgeois revolution". Elsewhere in the article, WOLFE pointed out that the use of force is not foreign to Americans and that the phrase "The American Way" means "by use of force".

The "New York Times" of May 14, 1927, contained an article concerning the debate between WOLFE and ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS of the Bronx Free Fellowship, on May 13, 1927, on the subject: "Resolved that the American system of Government is preferable to the Russian". WOLFE, who took the negative, called the American system "a Government of the bankers, by the bankers, and for the bankers". Among obstacles to the popular will, WOLFE mentioned the Federal Court system, the two party system, the electoral system and the power of the President.

The "New York Times" of June 4, 1927, published an article reflecting that WOLFE had addressed a meeting of the Workers Party at the Central Opera House, New York City, demanding the withdrawal of American Marines from China.

The "New York Times", on February 9, 1928, reported that WOLFE, together with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN GOLD, was on the faculty of a new college opened by the Workers (Communist) Party called the National Training Course of the Workers School, the purpose of which was "to teach the art and science, the tactics and strategy of militant revolution".

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On September 18, 1939, former SA GEORGE J. STARR obtained from W. E. DOUGLAS, Secretary of the Workers Library Publishers, Incorporated, 39 East 12th Street, a statement reflecting that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the members of the Board of Directors named in the Certificate of Incorporation of the Workers Library Publishers, Incorporated, dated March 12, 1928. The Board served until March 21, 1929.

The Workers Library Publishers has been cited in the May 11, 1948 Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Pages 72 and 80, as an "official Communist Party, USA publishing house".

The morgue of the "New York Times" contains a press release issued by the National Election Campaign Press Service of the Workers (Communist) Party, dated October 1, 1928, containing a biographical sketch of BERTRAM D. WOLFE, who was a Workers (Communist) Party candidate for Congress from the Tenth Congressional District. According to this press release, WOLFE had been a prominent member of the Workers (Communist) Party since its organization, acting on its Executive Committee at various times. It was stated that while in Mexico, WOLFE had been on the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and had also been a delegate to the Red Trade Union International (Profintern), with headquarters in Moscow, and a member of the Executive Committee of this latter organization from 1924 to 1928. As of the date of the aforementioned press release, WOLFE was a member of the Executive Committee and also of the Political Commission of the Workers (Communist) Party, head of the Propaganda Department, and Director of the Workers School since 1925. This press release stated that WOLFE was also Editor of "The Communist", official organ of the Party.

Other information contained in the press release is to the effect that WOLFE was one of the founders of the Communist Party in 1919 and was Editor of the first Communist paper, "The Communist World". In 1920, he was a member of the San Francisco Cooks Union and from 1920 to 1922, he was Editor of "Labor Unity", a left wing union newspaper. He was deported from Mexico in 1925 for activities in the General Railway strike. Following his return to New York, he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers Union in 1927.

The "New York Times" of July 7, 1929 related the facts concerning the expulsion of JAY LOVESTONE from the Communist Party for factionalism. The article indicated that WOLFE followed LOVESTONE.



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The "New York Times" of August 15, 1929 reported that WOLFE and a number of other individuals were purged from the Communist Party. According to the article, LOVESTONE and his supporters, including WOLFE, were expelled for seeking to bend the American Communists to the point of view that the tactics pursued by the Communist International through the Workers Party in the United States were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that LOVESTONE, WOLFE and BENJAMIN ~~WITLOW~~ had left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to the Soviet capital to explain their conduct.

The "New York Times" of March 3, 1930 reported a riot which occurred when members of the Communist Party attempted to break up a memorial meeting of the LOVESTONE group in Tuxedo Hall, New York, which was identified as the "Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting". BERTRAM D. WOLFE was acting as Chairman at this meeting.

The "New York Times" of April 19, 1930 contained an article indicating that B. D. WOLFE was one of the speakers at a meeting held at the Stuyvesant Casino (on April 18, 1930) under the auspices of the "Majority Group of the Communist Party". Mass violation of injunctions was urged as the only method of preventing their use in labor disputes.

The "New York Times" of May 11, 1930 reported that under the auspices of the "Majority Group of the Communist Party", BERTRAM D. WOLFE and other speakers denounced British rule in India. They also demanded that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, ROBERT ~~MINOR~~ and ISRAEL ~~AMTER~~, all of whom had been recently imprisoned, be set at liberty at once.

The "New York Times" of February 2, 1936 reported that an announcement had been issued by the "Communist Opposition" to the effect that an appeal was being made to the Socialist and Communist Parties to join forces and form a labor party headed by TOM ~~MOONEY~~ as Presidential candidate. According to the article, BERTRAM D. WOLFE of the "Communist Opposition" appealed to the two political parties to "brush aside all petty concerns of partisan or factionary character".

The "New York Times Book Review" of April 17, 1937 contained a review by CHARLES ~~POORE~~ of the book "Portrait of Mexico" by DIEGO ~~RIVERA~~ and BERTRAM D. WOLFE. The reviewer stated "Mr. WOLFE'S text is a guide to the pictures and at the same time a peppery left-of-the-left interpretation of Mexican history... There just don't seem to be any prominent leaders in Mexico radical enough for Mr. WOLFE".

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The April to June, 1937 issue of "The Marxist", described as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarship in the social science, reflected that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a member of the Board of Editors. The "Marxist" was published at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, by the American Marxist Association.

The "New York Times" of March 7, 1938 reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE spoke at a meeting at the Hippodrome under auspices of the "Keep America Out of War Committee", a new organization of socialists and other liberals.

The "New York Times" of March 10, 1938 reported that WOLFE had been a speaker at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, at a meeting held under the auspices of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The meeting adopted resolutions denouncing the Moscow trials as a frame-up.

The "New York Times" of September 13, 1939 reported a meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress, which was held at the Town Hall, New York City, and at which BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the speakers.

As has been noted previously in this report, after the outbreak of World War II in 1939, BERTRAM D. WOLFE published a book entitled "Keep America Out of War". NORMAN THOMAS was co-author of this book, which was published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York City.

By report dated June 17, 1941, Confidential Informant T-1, an instrumentality of the City of New York which conducts security investigations, reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, author, was a member of the Governing Board of the Keep America Out of War Congress. According to the informant, this organization was formed in the Spring of 1938 by a section of the Socialist Party in an attempt to capture the anti-war movement from the Communist Party.

On October 4, 1939, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was interviewed in connection with another matter by former SA GEORGE J. STARR. On this occasion, WOLFE stated that he had been a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party. He stated that he had been chosen by the Central Committee of the Party. He added that he had never been a delegate from the Party to any other Party conventions or conferences. WOLFE advised that he entered the Communist Party during the early part of its existence and that he was expelled in 1929. In 1925, he became Director of the Workers School in New York City.

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On April 22, 1941, Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability, advised that WOLFE had joined the Communist Party with or shortly after LOVESTONE in 1919 and that his political career had closely paralleled that of LOVESTONE. According to informant, after his return from the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, WOLFE took on the assignment of literary "hatchet man" against the Trotskyites and wrote one of two pamphlets of Trotskyism in the approved Communist style of "falsification" and delivered a few lectures on the same subject. After his expulsion from the Communist Party, according to informant, WOLFE admitted that he lied and renounced the pamphlets. The informant added that besides literary sallies against the Trotskyites, WOLFE undertook practical measures against them and headed so-called steering committees to disrupt all Trotskyite meetings. WOLFE saw that the attackers were furnished with lead pipe encased in paper, knives, knuckles and blackjacks. After his expulsion from the Party, he said that the weapons had not been distributed by the committee, but had been obtained by the hot-headed rank and filers without his knowledge.

The informant claimed that in 1929, LOVESTONE and WOLFE had instructed their "boys" to commit burglary in the Trotskyite office and in the apartment of JAMES P. CANNON, Trotskyite leader. The informant claimed that in 1935, WOLFE and LOVESTONE entered into secret negotiations with EARL BROWDER for readmission to the Communist Party, but that the negotiations collapsed when WOLFE and LOVESTONE insisted that they must enter the Party as a group and not as individuals.

The informant stated that in 1937, after his return from a trip to Spain, WOLFE lectured at the Hotel Delano, location not mentioned, and gave the OCPU operation in Spain a whitewash.

The July, 1941 issue of the "Readers Digest" contains an article entitled "The Silent Soviet Revolution" by BERTRAM D. WOLFE. In a footnote to this article, a short biographical sketch of WOLFE is set out in which it is explained that the author taught in a Mexico City High School in the early 1920's; that he made numerous visits to the Soviet Union and was personally acquainted with STALIN and MOLOTOV.

On February 21, 1942, Confidential Informant T-3, another governmental agency which conducts security investigations, [REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

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On March 2, 1942, Confidential Informant T-4, of known reliability, advised that VLADIMIR YAROSLAVSKY, an employee of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, had made the statement that BERTRAM WOLFE was connected with a Trotskyite group which was in contact with an international Trotskyite school being formed in Mexico. YAROSLAVSKY considered WOLFE to be dangerous.

It is to be noted that according to Professor SIDNEY HOOK, Department of Philosophy, New York University, WOLFE was an anti-Trotskyite even before the Communist Party adopted this line.

It has also been pointed out previously in this report that according to Confidential Informant T-2, WOLFE was one of the principal opponents of the Trotskyite group.

The "New York Times" of January 12, 1945 reported that WOLFE presided at a meeting at Webster Hall, New York City, on January 11, 1945 to observe the second anniversary of the death of CARLO TRESKA, a Socialist labor editor who was assassinated on January 11, 1943.

On September 10, 1947, in connection with another matter, WOLFE was interviewed by SA'S RICHARD J. GALLAGHER and JOHN F. WACKS. He advised that he had been Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929. During the latter year, he was also appointed National Director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Party. According to WOLFE, he issued catalogs for the school twice a year during his tenure and, although he had an Advisory Committee to help him arrange curricula, select teachers and assist in the running of the school, he considered them to be a "rubber stamp" committee which had no authority whatsoever. He further advised that he had been solely responsible for the school, although the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed on all his recommendations and activities. He added that he made so much money for the school and did such a good job that he was made the National Director of Agitation and Propaganda.

On this occasion, WOLFE stated that advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by force and violence was never taught as such in the Workers School, but that it was understood that eventually there must be some type of revolution to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. WOLFE stated that he did not believe the Communist Party to be dangerous to the security of the United States and that he was not in full agreement with the loyalty probes then being conducted.

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According to Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability, B. D. WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, is known to have communicated with ~~MAC~~ GOODMAN, 39 Grove Street, New York City, on December 17, 1947. ~~MAC~~ GOODMAN was the husband of ~~SHERA~~ STRUNSKY ~~GOODMAN~~, Executive Secretary of the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Incorporated, 103 Park Avenue, New York City.

Referral/Consult

According to Confidential Informant [REDACTED]

The "Brooklyn Eagle" of May 30, 1948 stated that BERTRAM D. WOLFE had just completed a book about Russia which was to be published in September, 1948 by the Dial Press, New York City, under the title "Three Who Made Revolution".

On October 13, 1948, "New York Times" published a Book Review by ORVILLE PRESCOTT of the book "Three Who Made Revolution" by BERTRAM WOLFE. The writer stated in part: "The book bears much evidence that he (WOLFE) is bitterly opposed to the tyranny of Stalin, but none as to whether he still approves of Communism as a political-economic ideal."

The "New York Times" of November 3, 1948 contained a Book Review by HANS KOHN of "Three Who Made Revolution" by BERTRAM D. WOLFE. It stated that the book ends with the outbreak of the first World War, 1914, and "promises to become an authoritative source on the Russian revolution from the last part of the Nineteenth Century to the present day".

The "New York Times" of October 28, 1938 reported that BERTRAM D. WOLFE took part in a radio symposium over Radio Station WQXR, New York City, on the difficulty of getting along with Russia as long as her leaders continue thinking of a war with capitalistic nations as "inevitable". According to the article, WOLFE said that Russia was waging unrelenting war on its own people and that the danger was "that the people at home will be kept quiet by expansion abroad".

The "New Leader" of November 19, 1949, Page 8, Column 1, contained a statement reflecting that BERTRAM WOLFE was at Stamford University working on a second volume on the Russian revolution.

Confidential Informants T-7, T-8, T-9, T-10, T-11, T-12, and T-13, all of known reliability, advised that they had no knowledge of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. These informants are familiar with the more prominent members of the Communist Party in the New York City area.

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### References

Professor SIDNEY HOOK, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, New York University, advised that he has known BERTRAM D. WOLFE for approximately sixteen years and considers him the most valuable man in America for the purpose of an ideological offensive against Communism in Western Europe. Professor HOOK stated that this was demonstrated by WOLFE'S attitude in that he is now a "principled Democrat". Professor HOOK said that WOLFE knows the theory and practice of Communism from A to Z and why people are drawn to Communism. He said that WOLFE is in a position to counteract on psychological and logical grounds Communist propaganda. He described WOLFE as a skillful writer and as an eloquent speaker. He said that from the point of view of education, WOLFE can do a very effective job. Professor HOOK said that a man like WOLFE, who believes in social reform and understands that there are social causes for the development of Communism, can most effectively counteract Communist arguments. Professor HOOK stated that WOLFE is a master at pointing out the discrepancies between Communist ideals and practices. He said that WOLFE knows what the workers want and can show that the practice of Communism is much more deadly to their freedoms than anything else in the world. According to Professor HOOK, WOLFE'S "wonderful political sense" would enable him to turn the idealism of the working class in Western Europe against Communist mythology.

Professor HOOK said that he had no doubt whatever that WOLFE'S conversion from Communism was completely sincere.

### Associates

Mr. LISTON M. OAK, Information Specialist, International Broadcasting Division, United States Department of State, 1775 Broadway, New York City, advised SA HOWARD H. WALLACE that he has known BERTRAM WOLFE since 1927, at which time OAK joined the Communist Party. Mr. OAK said that his first job was as manager of the Workers Library Publishers at the Communist Party headquarters on East 125th Street, New York City, and that he worked under WOLFE'S supervision. Mr. OAK stated that he also handled publicity in the 1928 political campaign.

According to Mr. OAK, WOLFE was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 by order of the Communist International and subsequently helped JAY LOVESTONE in the organization of an opposition group.

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Mr. OAK resumed contact with BERTRAM WOLFE upon Mr. OAK'S return in the 1930's from Spain. At this time Mr. OAK noted that BERTRAM WOLFE was "slipping" in his faith in Leninism, although it was not until 1938 or 1939 that the LOVESTONE group dissolved. Since then, most of its members have gradually abandoned the basic doctrines of Communism.

Mr. OAK stated that in recent years he has worked with WOLFE on the Post War World Council of which NORMAN THOMAS is Chairman. Mr. OAK remarked that the Council has endorsed the action of the United States and the United Nations in Korea.

Mr. OAK recalled that while he was editor of the "New Leader", WOLFE contributed a series of articles that clearly indicated his disillusionment with Soviet Russia and Communism.

Mr. OAK described WOLFE as a man of outstanding integrity and stated that there can be no question as to the sincerity of his beliefs.

Mr. EUGENE LYONS, 165 East 60th Street, New York City, Roving Editor of the "Readers Digest", advised that he became acquainted with BERTRAM D. WOLFE approximately twenty-five years ago at the time when Mrs. WOLFE was a stenographer at the Tass News Agency in New York City where LYONS was employed. Mr. LYONS stated that he has kept up his friendship with the WOLFES and followed closely BERTRAM WOLFE'S ideological development. Mr. LYONS is of the opinion that WOLFE became a Communist because of an innate yearning for justice and that, like many others, became disillusioned in the Soviet Union. Mr. LYONS firmly believes that WOLFE is a man who is sincere in everything he does and that his break with Communist ideology is altogether genuine. Mr. LYONS expressed the opinion that WOLFE is one of the best informed people in the world on the subject of Communism.

Mr. THEODORE SCHAPIRO, Executive Director, Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, advised that he had known BERTRAM D. WOLFE by reputation for many years and had known him personally for eight years. According to Mr. SCHAPIRO, WOLFE has lectured frequently at the Rand School. He stated that WOLFE is a person of "utmost sincerity" who became disillusioned with Communist ideology and because of character evolution is now a convinced "Democrat-Socialist" who advocates the use of established Democratic forms to bring about social progress. According to Mr. SCHAPIRO, WOLFE is entirely loyal to the Democratic traditions and institutions of the United States.

NY 123-3898

Mr. NELSON FRANK, Feature Writer, "New York World Telegram and Sun", New York City, advised that WOLFE has led a more academic existence than other individuals in the LOVESTONE group and, for that reason, appears to have taken less positive action against Russia than others. Mr. FRANK stated that WOLFE'S book, "Three Who Made Revolution", reflects anti-Communist, anti-Marxist, and anti-Stalinist sentiments. In the opinion of Mr. FRANK, WOLFE'S break with Communism is quite sincere.

Mr. NORMAN THOMAS, Post War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, advised that he has known WOLFE well for many years. He considers WOLFE a man who is perfectly open and above board in everything that he does. According to Mr. THOMAS, WOLFE was sincere as a Communist and is now a sincere anti-Communist. Mr. THOMAS stressed the fact that WOLFE'S break with the Communist Party without "fireworks" or fanfare does not make that break any less complete. According to Mr. THOMAS, WOLFE is not a "stunter".

In the book, "I Confess", published in 1940 by the E. P. Dutton Company, New York, BENJAMIN GITLOW, who was a prominent Communist Party official and was expelled from the Party in 1929 at the same time as LOVESTONE and WOLFE, states as follows:

"He (WOLFE) followed LOVESTONE into the Communist Party, organized jointly with the Russian Federation in 1919. As soon as the raids ('The Palmer Raids', 1919) took place, he shirked all Party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his Party salary should be paid. After many months, news began to trickle in that WOLFE had left the country and had made his residence in Mexico. The rank and file comrades did not relish what seemed to them cowardice in a leader and openly expressed their disapproval of what looked like flight to Mexico."

On Page 405 of "I Confess", GITLOW declares that JAY LOVESTONE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE had been responsible for the speedy and phenomenal rise of JACK STACHEL to leadership in the Communist Party, USA "solely because of the youngster's aptitude for dirty factionary politics".

JACK STACHEL is one of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA who, in 1949, was found guilty of violation of the Smith Act.



NY 123-3898

On July 9, 1947, BENJAMIN GITLOW advised SA'S CHARLES M. NOONE and JOHN F. WACKS that WOLFE had been active in the Communist Party through 1929 with the exception of a period of two years when he left the country to work with the Communist Party of Mexico. GITLOW stated that WOLFE was an author in New York City and was known to him to be anti-Communist.

On September 25, 1950, Mr. GITLOW advised that WOLFE had helped in the organization of the "Russian Branch" of the Communist Party in Chicago in 1919. Mr. GITLOW stated that following the Palmer Raids, it was the consensus of opinion among the rank and file in the Communist Party that WOLFE had fled to Mexico. However, according to Mr. GITLOW, WOLFE came back to the United States in time to attend the secret convention of the Communist Party at Bridgeman, Michigan in 1924. Mr. GITLOW recalled that in his book, "I Confess", he stated that at the Bridgeman convention, LOVESTONE placed WOLFE in charge of a "neutral" group, which was used as a spearhead against a majority group to which GITLOW belonged.

Mr. GITLOW stated that WOLFE was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1920 and that he subsequently became a member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party. Mr. GITLOW recalled that WOLFE was named Director of the Workers School (which GITLOW described as an official Communist Party school) and subsequently was appointed Director of Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Communist Party. Mr. GITLOW mentioned that WOLFE was also on the anti-Imperialist Committee of the Political Commission.

Mr. GITLOW recalled that in 1928, WOLFE was the representative of the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist International at Moscow and that in that same year he was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

Mr. GITLOW stated that following the expulsion of the LOVESTONE group from the Communist Party, the "Communist Opposition" was formed and that its purpose was to fight for the democratization of the Communist International. According to GITLOW, this "Communist Opposition", of which WOLFE was a member, continued to support STALIN and even as late as 1934 or 1935 was willing to return to the Communist Party, but failed to do so because of LOVESTON'S insistence that the "Communist Opposition" be taken back as a group and not individually.

NY 123-3898

Mr. GITLOW was of the opinion that WOLFE continues to be a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist and said that he based this belief on (a) WOLFE'S opposition to the United States entry into World War II because of the "imperialist" nature of that war; (b) approval by the LOVESTONE group, of which WOLFE was a member, of the Russian invasion of Finland; and (c) the indications in WOLFE'S last book, "Three Who Made Revolution", that WOLFE still holds on to Marxian doctrine.

On October 2, 1950, JAY LOVESTONE, who is in charge of International Political Affairs for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, 1710 Broadway, advised SA C. LEE SNOEYENBOS that he was formerly the head of the Communist Party in the United States and that he had broken with the Party on the grounds of Russian domination of the American Party. He said that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was in the Communist Party with him and broke from the Party at the same time and for the same reasons. Mr. LOVESTONE stated that since his break with the Communist Party, WOLFE has been a complete and sincere anti-Communist.

Mr. LOVESTONE added that WOLFE is a scholarly type of individual; that he has a vast knowledge of Communist activities and personalities; and that he is all the more valuable as an authority on the subject of Communism in that he looks at the problem as an American.

Mr. LOVESTONE stated that WOLFE is completely loyal to the United States and does not subscribe to any form of appeasement of the Communists. He stressed that there is no question as to the completeness and sincerity of WOLFE'S break with the Communist Party.

Mr. LOVESTONE said that WOLFE is a man of good character and reputation and is, in all respects, reliable and trustworthy. According to Mr. LOVESTONE, the main significant feature of WOLFE'S thinking is his unalterable opposition to totalitarianism in any form, either from the left or from the right.

Mr. MURRAY BARON, Chairman of the Liberal Party, New York County, 11 West 42nd Street, New York City, advised SA C. LEE SNOEYENBOS that he has known WOLFE for twelve years. He said that WOLFE, a former Communist, broke from the Party a number of years ago and is now known as an active anti-Communist. Mr. BARON said that WOLFE is considered to be one of the best authorities on the Communist movement in general in the United States. Mr. BARON added that there is absolutely no doubt of the sincerity and thoroughness of WOLFE'S conversion from Communism or of his loyalty and devotion to the United States. Mr. BARON stated that he was convinced of WOLFE'S good personal character and reputation.

NY 123-3898

Neighborhood

At the office of Bing and Bing, 119 West 40th Street, New York City, it was ascertained that BERTRAM D. WOLFE occupied Apartment 5-D at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York on November 25, 1938. He had previously resided at 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, where he had been a tenant for the preceding ten years.

At 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, Mrs. W. L. CLARK, a tenant, advised that the house was bought by its present owners in 1940 and that the present tenants have resided at that address ten years or less and, for that reason, would not be in a position to furnish any information about anyone who had moved out prior to the change of ownership.

It was noted that the character of this neighborhood has changed completely during the past few years and it was evident that no one in the vicinity would recall WOLFE.

At 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, Mr. JOSEPH BELL, Superintendent, advised that he has been in charge of the apartment building since 1937 and that, to the best of his knowledge, WOLFE is quiet and studious and, apparently, a solid American citizen.

Mr. WILLARD MEADOWS advised that he has acted as handyman at 68 Montague Street since 1941 and that, in his opinion, WOLFE is an honest, sincere and generous person. Mr. MEADOWS stated that he did not consider himself in a position to comment on WOLFE'S loyalty to the United States.

Miss MARY LYNCH, Apartment 5-B, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, advised that she and her sisters have occupied their apartment since 1943, but that they have nothing more than a nodding acquaintance with the WOLFES. Miss LYNCH was unable to comment on WOLFE'S character, associations or loyalty.

Mrs. JAMES HUNTER, Apartment 5-C, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, stated that she has been a tenant at the foregoing address, but that neither she nor her husband are sufficiently acquainted with WOLFE to comment on his character, associations or loyalty.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 123-3898

Mrs. E. ROVERE, Apartment 4-C, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, advised that she has lived at this address since 1940 and that she has known Mr. and Mrs. WOLFE for over ten years. Mrs. ROVERE stated that she considered WOLFE a capable and loyal person. Mrs. ROVERE stressed that she would not hesitate, in times like the present, to denounce even her closest friends if it was a matter of disloyalty to the United States. She asserted that bearing this in mind, she did not hesitate to state that WOLFE was sincere in his break with Communist ideology and in his devotion to the United States.

Credit

The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York reflect that both BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELIA G. WOLFE of 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, enjoy a good credit record.

Confidential Informant T-14, of known reliability, was unable to furnish any information concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

Criminal

The files of the New York City Police Department, which were checked by SA AUGUST J. MICEK, failed to reflect a criminal record for BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

-- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 123-3898

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Records of the Board of Health, Borough of Brooklyn, New York City, were checked by SE GERARD M. LENAHAN.

The files of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York were checked by SE RALPH G. MURDY.

Confidential Informant T-14 was contacted by SE GERARD M. LENAHAN.

*Adm Page*

NY 123-3898

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA VICTOR A. LEMAIRE, dated October 10, 1950, at New York, are identified as follows:

T-1 Bureau of Special Services and Investigations,  
New York City Police Department.

T-2

Referral/Consult

T-4

T-5

Mail cover on  
New York City.

Referral/Consult

T-7

contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-8

contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-9

contacted by SA

T-10

contacted by SA

T-11

contacted by SA

T-12

contacted by SA

T-13

contacted by SA

T-14

*Adm Page*

SAC, NEW YORK (123-3898)

March 30, 1953

Director, FBI (123-5791)

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
Buded 4/14/53

0-1 WFO  
5-12  
P

0-1 WFO  
5/12  
P

The attention of the New York and Washington Field Offices is called to Bulet dated February 19, 1953, in the case entitled "Edwin Martin John Kretzmann, aka "Kretz", International Broadcasting Service, Department of State, New York, New York, LGE," Bureau file 121-15638, WFO file 121-28142, New York file 121-16698, wherein information was set out from [redacted]

Referral/Consult

The Washington Field Office should check the appropriate records of the [redacted] concerning Wolfe and review the files of the Washington Field Office concerning this individual.

cc: (2) Washington Field (123-5405)

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Gearty  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
 Sizoo  
Miss Gandy

RHE/jc

0-1 WFO  
4/17  
123-5791  
24

20 JUL 20 1953

MAILED 27

The New York Office should review its files concerning Wolfe and attempt to develop the information quoted above. The current position of Wolfe with the State Department should be set forth in your supplemental reports.

For your information, the reports in the Voice of America case involving Wolfe were furnished to the Civil Service Commission. The Loyalty Review Board by letter dated August 2, 1951, advised that Wolfe had been declared "Eligible on loyalty."

Temporary symbols utilized in your supplemental reports should correspond with the symbols previously utilized in the VOA investigation.



Subj: Wolfe, BertramAddress: DavidBirthdate: Jan. 19-1896 SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R#

(927)

Date

Searcher

Initials

126

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

MAR 27 1953

MAR 25 1953

9-2-51

123-57

61-1292-238

123-7827-39

Bertram D

D.C.R. Apo #1 P# 460, 463

464, 491, 493

D.C.R. W. Steele #1 P# 399

326, 327

D.C.R. Vol #1, P# 603, 630, 631

D.C.R. Vol #1, P# 2613

D.C.R. Vol #7, P# 61745

D.C.R. Vol #11, P# 6865

6867, 6873, 6874

6880, 7127, 7129

7142, 7143, 7145

7.C.N. Vol #2, Part #1, P# 18, 19, 23

Subj :

**Address:**

David

**Birthdate:**

SUPV:

**Misc:**

R#

SC: 927

Date 3-24<sup>85</sup>

# Searcher

Initial

126

**FILE NUMBER**

**SERIAL**

FILE NUMBER  
Bertram D

ST. 61-1292-401, Encl P<sup>2</sup> 21.

94, 105, 106

|                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 51 <sup>6</sup> | 100-377<br>123-4048-14 |
|-----------------|------------------------|

42. Kra-347452-30, P<sup>th</sup> 22

ST 74-1333-4785, ext 1st

Part 4/p# 65

3-54-61-1292-339, encl p#12

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|-------|-------------------|
| 3-514 | 339, enalapril 25 |
|-------|-------------------|

516  $10^5 - 5791$  12595-21, P<sup>2</sup> 19, 20

Authors "Klein America"

and 7 War" Bureau Librarian

Per Team

SL 100-18830-67

5<sup>th</sup> month 12.0 - 5.14.1  
100 - 12/145 - 51

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|---|-----|--------------------|
| ✓ | 150 | <del>7964</del> 82 |
|---|-----|--------------------|

10 L 121-40676-9

*[Signature]*

Subj: Wolfe, BertramAddress: David

Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ SUPV: \_\_\_\_\_

Misc: \_\_\_\_\_

R# (927) Date 3-27 Searcher Initial 106FILE NUMBERSERIAL

|          |              |             |            |
|----------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| 11.28.50 | Bertram      | 123-6516-8  |            |
| 53       | 123-5791     | 124-6596-14 |            |
| 4-3-50   | 100-7166-38  | pp 23, 24   |            |
| 8-24-50  | 105-9940-179 | end pp 80   |            |
| I        | 100-383236-7 | Vol #3,     |            |
|          |              | encl pp 5   |            |
| I        | 400-70409-19 |             |            |
| N        | 101-1292-295 | encl pp 33  |            |
|          | B.N.         |             |            |
| 53       | 123-5791     | 61-1292-339 | encl pp 20 |
|          | David        |             |            |
| NR       | 100-389883   |             |            |
| IN       | 100-387253-5 |             |            |
|          |              |             |            |
| 32       |              |             |            |

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

April 21, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Attention:

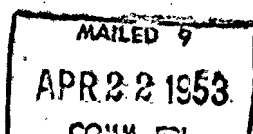
Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration  
Branch

For your information, and in order that consideration may be given as to whether any Federal laws have been violated, there is transmitted herewith one copy each of reports reflecting the results of an investigation by this Bureau concerning the above-mentioned individual under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America). Copies of these reports have been furnished the Civil Service Commission.

Enclosures (32)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dls  
123-5791



123-5791-25

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

April 21, 1953

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA

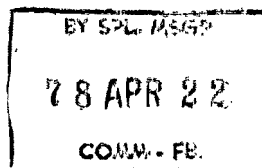
Reference is made to my letter dated  
November 17, 1950, concerning the above-named individual.

There are transmitted herewith four copies  
each of two reports reflecting additional investigation.  
Only one copy of each of the enclosures is being  
transmitted.

Enclosures (30)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dls  
123-5791



123-5791 - 26

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

April 21, 1953

✓  
Mr. John W. Ford  
Director, Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

0  
BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
SPECIAL INQUIRY-STATE DEPARTMENT  
PUBLIC LAW 402, 80th CONGRESS  
VOICE OF AMERICA

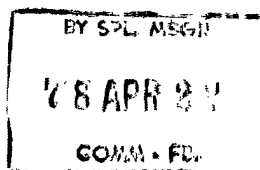
Reference is made to my letter dated  
February 4, 1953, concerning the above-named individual.

There is transmitted herewith one copy  
each of two reports reflecting additional investigation.

Enclosures (24)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJF:dis  
123-5791



26 APR 29 1953

(3)  
123-5791-27  
46 DHC

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: January 26, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson ✓  
 Ladd ✓  
 Nichols ✓  
 Belmont ✓  
 Clegg ✓  
 Glavin ✓  
 Harbo ✓  
 Rosen ✓  
 Tracy ✓  
 Laughlin ✓  
 Mohr ✓  
 Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Rm. ✓  
 Holloman ✓  
 Gandy ✓

Dave Lawrence called. Some individual came into the office of U. S. News and World Reports and advised one of their reporters that Bertram D. Wolfe, presently in charge of the Ideological Talks Unit of the Voice of America, is supposed to be a former Communist, but actually acts like he still is a member of the Party.

Lawrence stated he would send me their memorandum on this and that if after looking it over it was felt absolutely essential to have the name of their informant, he would then give it to me on a personal and confidential basis, with the understanding the individual would not in any way be embarrassed. I told him this might be necessary and if after we got the memo it was found additional investigation should be made, we, of course, could contact his informant routinely without letting him know Lawrence had furnished us this information. He stated this would be satisfactory.

I am attaching the memorandum which Lawrence furnished me. We did have a Loyalty investigation on Bertram Wolfe. He was found eligible by the Loyalty Review Board. He was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929 and was director of the Workers' School, director of Adjudication and Propaganda and the American delegate to the Executive Committee of Communist International. He followed Jay Lovestone out of the Party. Ben Gitlow believes that Wolfe still retains his Marxist-Leninist ideology although he is opposed to Stalin.

It is suggested that the Loyalty Section review the attached memorandum and if it has not done so it might be well to review some of Wolfe's writings since he allegedly left the Party.

cc: Mr. Ladd  
 cc: Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP:HMC

RECORDED - 56

123-579

RECORDED

1953

### Ex-Communist or Anti-Communist?

The recent recent revelation that Bertram Wolfe, one-time "chief propagandist and agitationist" of the American Communist Party had been employed for the past year and a half by the VOICE of AMERICA as the Chief of their Ideological Talks Unit highlights the importance of differentiating between an Ex-Communist and an Anti-Communist.

At first hand it may seem to be an unnecessary bit of haggling over the differences between what seem to be basically analogous groups. Actually however, the two groups are more likely to be poles apart in their ideologies. Such is the case with Bertram Wolfe.

Wolfe has been generally recognized since his expulsion from the Communist International in 1929, as an "ex-Communist" but Wolfe or the State Department which hired ~~xxxx~~ because he was an "ex-Communist", would find it impossible to prove that he also became an "anti-Communist". Mr. Wolfe's own writings after 1929 are sufficient evidence to disprove any claim ~~in~~ he, or the State Department may make in behalf of Wolfe's right to the title of "anti-Communist".

The difference in the two terms is simply this.... an "anti-Communist" is against Communist principles and the Marxian philosophy which it embodies, while an "ex-Communist" is a former Party member who for one reason or another has been separated from the official organization. There are very few of the latter group. And fewer still in this latter group have become "anti-Communists" as well as "ex-Communists".

Tito and Trotsky are two of the most noteworthy <sup>examples of</sup> "ex-Communists". Would anyone also classify these two as "anti-Communists"? Hardly. Tito and the late Leon Trotsky became "ex-Communists" ~~as a result of~~ <sup>as the result of</sup> political differences with the Stalin leadership. Their's were "differences" as Whittaker Chambers expressed it in WITNESS, ~~as a result of~~ <sup>as a result of</sup> "differences" are merely quarrels over a road map by people all of whom are in a hurry to get to the same place". The "same place" being the overthrow of the democratic capitalist society and the abolishment of private property.

And thus it was with Bertram Wolfe in 1933, four years after his expulsion from the official party over differences with Stalin "over the route" to be followed in arriving at the common goal of all Communists, no matter whether they are Stalinists, Trotskyites, or Bertram Wolfe's. His words as quoted from his booklet "What Is The Communist Opposition?" written in 1933, read as follows:

"We (Communist Party Opposition) did not choose expulsion! Too many of the best years of our lives went into the building of the Communist Party; it means too much to accept expulsion lightly.

"The Communist Opposition fights for its readmission into

ENCLOSURE

123-5791-28



the official party.....We also fight for the re-admission of the Trotskyite opposition.

"The Communist Opposition' differences with the official leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International are not with differences of basic principles nor fundamental aims. Our differences with the official leadership are on the question of tactics, the best methods of reaching our goals.

"The fundamental aims of the Communist Movement are the same throughout the world.....overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of Soviet Power, the building of a Socialist Society. But the methods of reaching the goal, the tactics to be applied at a given moment, are ~~the~~ different for each country....and even for each stage of the struggle in a given country.

"...We stand for the proletarian dictatorship, the rule of the working class. It is the only possible means of overthrowing capitalist political rule and economic domination... .... and the abolishment of private property in the means of production"

Thus spoke a man who had been an "ex-Communist" for four years, Hardly the words of an "anti-Communist". Yet in 1952 the State Department hired Wolfe, presumably because he was an "ex-Communist", to become Chief of their Ideological Talks Unit. An incredible transition from <sup>official</sup> Communist propagandist in the 1920's; to unofficial spokesman for the world-wide Communist Movement in the '30's and finally an "ideological spokesman" for the society which pledged to defeat.

1933

In his/booklet "What Is The Communist Opposition?" ~~in 1933~~ he exhorted his fellow Communist "Oppositionists" as follows:

"How long will it take? All we can answer to such queries is: Come in and help us, and the fight will be shorter.....if you are truly a Communist....and if you are not content to ignore and condone the errors of our party just for the sake of being a "card holder".....you will join with us for the unification of the party and...the defeta of the most powerful ruling class on the face of the earth".

"Marx and Engels will never be out of date"

Whittaker Chambers who mentions Bertram Wolfe in his WITNESS and refers

to him as the "chief propagandist and agitator of the American Communist Party, has this to say about "ex-Communists":

"By ex-Communists ~~to whom I refer~~ I mean a man who knew clearly why he became a Communist, who served Communism devotedly and knew why he served it, who broke with Communism unconditionally and knew why he broke with it. Of these there are very few...., ...an index to the power of the vision and the power of the crisis"

Chambers speaks then of his own <sup>first</sup> break with Communism, about the same time as Wolfe's, as follows:

.....since my break was not intelligent, since I broke with the effects and not with ~~the cause~~ their cause, with Stalin and not with Communism, I would presently return to the party, a more devout Communist than I left it".

Wolfe, if we are to believe his own writings, also broke with Stalin -----not with Communism. His fight with Stalin has been as bitter ~~and more bitter~~ as his fight with the democratic capitalist society. In fact his renown as an "ex-Communist" has stemmed almost exclusively from his voluminous writings and lectures denouncing Stalin and his Totalitarian Communist followers, since his expulsion in 1929.

For those who might wish to attribute Wolfe's Communist affiliation to some youthful mischance, it should be noted here that Wolfe was 23 years of age when he helped found the American Communist Party in 1919. He was thirty-three, and had made several trips to Moscow ~~before~~ before he was expelled in 1929. And he was 37 years of age when wrote the afore-quoted passages from "What Is The Communist Opposition?" in 1933.

In 1937 when he was 41 years of age he wrote a booklet entitled Civil War In Spain. At that time he had been an "ex-Communist" for eight years, and his battle with the Stalin ~~for his~~ leadership for readmittance had been unavailing. He was embittered more than ~~xxx~~ ever with ~~the~~ Stalin and course he was mapping for world-wide Communism. Wolfe's writings were taking on more of philosophic ~~comparative~~ character, pointing out the Imperialistic nature of Stalin Totalitarianism, and comparing it with the "true" Communism of MARX.

Marx had been not only the foremost advocate of revolution of the proletariat. He had also advocated "national determination". So did Wolfe. If Marx were living today it is quite possible that he would oppose Stalinism just as much as he did Czarism. Both are imperialistic. ~~Both are~~

Both are counter to the pure Communist principles of MARX. It was because Wolfe was primarily a Marxian Communist or Socialist, believing in the ~~the~~ principal/democratic centralism that he was expelled by the Stalin Totalitarians.

Thus after his fruitless tangle with the Stalin leadership, Wolfe turned his literary efforts toward keeping the spirit of Marxian Communism alive in the hearts of untold millions of anti-Stalinists. In the 1937 book, CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN are found the following passages:

"Marxism has taught us the democratic republic is only a masked form of the bourgeois republic.

"The Stalinists in order to justify their monstrous betrayal of revolutionary Marxism, argue that the democratic republic they have in mind will be different from the other.

"The hope of mankind in an hour of great deparation<sup>s</sup> lies in the kindling of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

(An advertisement in the same booklet published by WORKERS AGE read as follows:

Bertram D. Wolfe, Will Herberg and many others including Jay Lovestone, Frederick J. Arnold and Lyman Fraser write regularly for.....

WORKERS AGE

Weekly ~~Communist~~ organ of  
the Independent  
Communist Labor League

Subscribe Now

131 W. 33rd St. NYC.

For those "doubters" who still feel that later events of the post-World War II years may even have altered Wolfe's views ~~on~~ even of Marxian Communism, passages are quoted herewith from a book review written by Wolfe for AMERICAN MERCURY in 1947, entitled MARX---THE MAN and HIS LEGACY. This was the title of his review of Leopold Schwarzschild's "The Red Russian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx".

In the book Dr. Schwarzschild said, "The tree is known by its fruit---practically all previous biographies of Marx were written before any fruit had ripened"

Wolfe comments on this as follows:

"But which is the fruit? Is it the democratic Socialist

~~XXXX~~

movement or the Totalitarian Communist Movement?"

"Dr. Schwarzchild gives no hint of the existence of the former, though in much of Europe it is today the only hopeful alternative to Totalitarianism, and he gives no sign of having examined the latter to see whether or how much it may be taking Marx's name in vain.

"Dr. Schwarzchild has deliberately and carefully purged the letter of everything which could place Marx in a favorable light.

"What historian could consider the rise of Protestantism without examination of its relationship to the rise of capitalism? Though Dr. Schwarzchild calls ours the "Marxian era" he does not ~~even~~ essay the central task of determining to what extent Marx's contributions are imbedded in our ages thinking. He does not seem to recognize that the problem exists."

This then is the picture of an "ex-Communist" who has been enrolled in the ~~fight~~ "anti-Communist" crusade of America. The hiring of Wolfe to head up the "Ideological Talks Unit" ~~is a~~ ~~discredit~~ of the VOICE of AMERICA is a most dramatic example of the fallacy of carelessly ~~assuming~~ assuming that a man is an "anti-Communist" because he is an "ex-Communist".

America and the government which represents this democratic republic of ours must learn to differentiate more carefully between the terms "ex-Communist" and "anti-Communist" if we are to preserve the personal freedom and right to private enterprise which is inherent in our society. Communism and private enterprise are incompatible. It would seem too that a man of Wolfe's background would be incompatible on the VOICE of AMERICA too. Wolfe's philosophy may be compatible with that of some of his employers in the retiring Democratic administration, but it certainly does not represent the true "voice" of the millions of Americans who have instinctively been "anti-Communists" all of their lives.

5709

Jan. 6, 1953

The man who was in today to talk about Communism in Government left the attached memo which is self-explanatory. But before you read it this background will be helpful:

He wanted you to have this information for possible use in your dispatch. He was secretive about his interest in the matter because he could lose his job, and probably would, if it became known that he was in touch with us. (If you are interested, I can tell you his name and more about who he is over the phone, but believe I should not identify him in writing.) He is not a crackpot, and has the dope, that much I am sure.

He is concerned over the employment by the Voice of America of one Bertram D. Wolfe. Wolfe has the title of Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit of the Voice of America. He was expelled from the Communist party in the purge of 1929 or thereabouts along with Jay Lovestone and some of the other Trotskyites. According to our informant, he still is a dedicated Marxist, although Anti-Stalinist, and has sold himself to the State Department as a former Communist when, in reality he still is a Communist at heart but not a Stalin Communist. A sort of Titoist. Anyway the State Department people are unwilling to believe that he is anything but a loyal citizen who has turned against the Stalin and renounced his former beliefs. For that reason, they consider him valuable to have around.

Wolfe's name was brought to public attention last August when Representative Busbey, of Illinois, denounced him for what he really is. Busbey did this in an extension of remarks in the Congressional Record, and his reference to Wolfe was buried and got little or no notice. Congress adjourned soon

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5710

and nobody followed up the Busby charges.

Our informant says the Loyalty Review Board called Wolfe before it, but never could get him to admit his Communist views. The reason they got nowhere with him was because no member of the Board questioned him on what he had written in a book entitled "What is the Communist Opposition?" in which he set forth clearly the philosophy of his <sup>wing</sup> ~~branch~~ of the Communist party. I have a copy of this book, which our informant lent me, and excerpts from it are contained in the enclosed memo.

The rest you will get from reading the memo.

February 4, 1953

5741

**Rerep SA Victor A. Lemaître dated 10-10-50, at New York, New York.**

You are requested to secure a copy of the article in the "American Mercury" in 1947, referred to on page 4 of this memorandum and to ascertain additional writings by Wolfe since he allegedly left the Communist Party. If a review of these writings indicates information pertinent to this investigation efforts should be made to secure a copy of these writings. "Civil War in Spain" and "What is Communist Opposition?" referred to in the memorandum were included in a list of writings of Wolfe as set forth in rerep and it will not be necessary to secure copies of these or other writings listed in this report. Handle and surep by February 23, 1953.

According to the source that made this memorandum available to the Bureau, Congressman Busbey of Illinois denounced Wolfe in August, 1952 and this information is contained in the Congressional Record. The Washington Field Office should review Congressman Busbey's remarks and conduct any additional investigation suggested by this review. The records of the Library of Congress should also be checked for additional books and articles by Wolfe.

co-2-Washington Field (123-5405) (Encl.)  
(By Special Messenger)

Enclosure  
MLI:RYG

RECORDED - 56

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25 MAY 26 1953

0712

Date: February 4, 1953

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

TO: Mr. John W. Ford  
Chief, Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 Twenty-second Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
VOICE OF AMERICA

Reference is made to my letter dated November 7, 1950,  
with enclosure.

Transmitted herewith is a copy of an undated memorandum entitled  
"Ex-Communist or Anti-Communist?", which contains certain allegations  
concerning the above-named individual, who reportedly is employed as  
Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, Voice of America. This memorandum  
was prepared by an informant of unknown reliability.

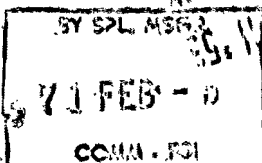
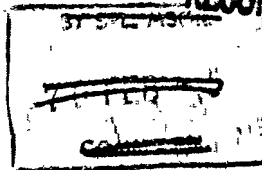
It is noted that the informant quotes in the memorandum from  
Wolfe's writings, "What is the Communist Opposition?" and "Civil War in  
Spain." Both of these books were listed among the writings of Wolfe in  
the report of Special Agent Victor A. Lemaitre dated October 10, 1950,  
at New York, New York. The informant also quotes from a book review  
written by Wolfe for the "American Mercury" in 1947 entitled "Marx,  
The Man and His Legacy." Information concerning this article is not  
included in reports previously furnished to you and the Civil Service  
Commission.

In view of the information contained in this memorandum,  
efforts will be made by this Bureau to obtain a copy of the article  
in the "American Mercury" and inquiries will also be made concerning any additional  
writings of Wolfe. No action will be taken in connection with those writings  
of Wolfe which were set forth in referenced report in the absence of a specific  
request from your office. You will be advised of the results of this supplemental  
investigation.

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Enclosure

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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MARCH 20, 1953

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BERTRAM DAVID GOLFE, VOA. REURFILE 123-3898. BUDED FEB.  
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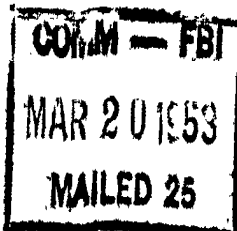
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26 MAY 26 1953

7206

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

**BUREAU**

|   |                                 |   |  |
|---|---------------------------------|---|--|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>WASHINGTON, D.C.</b> | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>3-4-53</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>2/12,13,17,20,<br/>24,27/53</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>FRED J. CASSIDY</b> <span style="float: right;">mlk</span>  |
| TITLE<br><br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b>   |                                 |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE<br/>DEPARTMENT, PUBLIC LAW 402,<br/>80th CONGRESS (VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

List of articles written by applicant as reflected in indices of Library of Congress set forth. Information concerning applicant contained in the remarks of Congressman BUSBEY of Illinois in the House of Representatives July 5, 1952.

AGENCY Photo Unit  
REQ. REC'D 3-5-53  
REP'T FORW. 3-27-53  
BY mlk

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AGENCY for photo - Dept  
REQ. REC'D 3-19-53  
REP'T FORW. 4-1-53  
BY [Signature]

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated February 4, 1953.

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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REP'T FORW. 11/15/52  
BY [Signature]

MISCELLANEOUS

The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, as maintained at the Library of Congress, reflects the following additional articles have been written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. Photostatic copies of these articles are being enclosed with this report.

(1) Marxist reply to COREY, pages 329-31, March 9, 1940, edition of the Nation magazine.

(2) Oil and the Good Neighbor, pages 37-38, April 27, 1940, edition of the Nation magazine.

|  |                         |  |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED<br><br><i>[Signature]</i>   | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES   |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br><br>② - Bureau (Enclosures 51)<br>1 - Washington Field (123-5405) |                         | 123-5405-32  |
|  |                         | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <b>12 MAR 5 1953</b> </div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;">             AGENCY <u>for photo - Dept</u><br/>             REQ. REC'D <u>3-19-53</u><br/>             REP'T FORW. <u>4-1-53</u><br/>             BY <u>[Signature]</u> </div> |

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**26 MAY 26 1953**

WFO 123-5405

(3) LEON FELIPE: Poet of Spain's Tragedy, pages 330-338, 1942-43, edition of the American Scholar.

(4) TROTSKY on STALIN, pages 109-116, July, 1946, edition of The American Mercury.

(5) China's Fate, pages 108-118, January, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(6) The Rise and Fall of the Comintern, pages 365-373, March, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(7) Dissenting Opinion on TOYNBEE, pages 748-756, June, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(8) Letter written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE pages 254-55, the August, 1947, edition of The American Mercury.

(9) Politics and Fiction in Mexico, pages 751-58, June, 1948, edition of The American Mercury.

(10) The Case of HARRY HOPKINS, pages 109-116, January, 1949, edition of The American Mercury.

(11) MARX on the Truman Doctrine, pages 313-318, April, 1951, edition of The American Mercury.

(12) The Soviet Dance of Death, pages 10-11, May 26, 1951, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

(13) In Soviet Inferno, pages 13-14, February, 1952, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

(14) OPERATION REWRITE, pages 39-57, October, 1952, edition of Foreign Affairs.

(15) TITO and STALIN, pages 114-121, December 1, 1952, edition of Vital Speeches of the Day.

(16) The More Change the More the Same, page 18, December, 1952, edition of The Saturday Review of Literature.

It is to be noted that copies of the above articles are available at the Library of Congress.

WFO 123-5405

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Volume 98, published on August 18, 1952, contains extension of remarks of the Honorable FRED E. BUSBEY of Illinois entitled, "RUTH B. SHIPLEY: Patriot and Champion of Americanism." These remarks appear on pages A5203-A5205 of the Appendix and contain information concerning the background of BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

Photostatic copies of Congressman BUSBEY's remarks are enclosed with this report.

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU:

Three photostatic copies of each of 16 articles written by BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

Photostatic copies (3) of Congressman BUSBEY's remarks.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

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| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>NEW YORK</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>MAR 27 1953</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>2/23-26; 3/3-5,<br/>9,10,16/53</b> | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>57117</b>   |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE</b> |                                      |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SPECIAL INQUIRY- STATE DEPARTMENT<br/>Public Law 402, 80th Congress<br/>(VOICE OF AMERICA)</b> |

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**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Various articles written by BERTRAM WOLFE set out and synopsized. Digest of material from New York Times Morgue set out.

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AGENCY 1cc photo - Army  
REQ. REC'D 8-15-56  
REP'T FORM. 9-4-56  
BY [Signature]

REFERENCE

Bureau letter to New York 2/4/53.

DETAILS

**ENCLOSURE ATTACHED**

Articles by BERTRAM WOLFE

The "Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature" reviewed from January, 1929 to the present, reflects that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was the author of the following articles:

"Marxists Reply To Corey"  
"The Nation", March 9, 1940

The 5 articles under this heading were contributed by BERTRAM D. WOLFE, whose affiliation was listed as "Independent"

|   |                         |                              |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|
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|   |                         | <b>RECORDED - 30</b>         |
|   |                         | <b>INDEXED 56</b>            |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>⑧ - Bureau (123-5791)<br>1 - New York (123-3898) |                         | <b>123-5791-33</b>           |
| 26 MAY 1953   |                         | <b>EL-1th</b>                |

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Labor League (Lovestonites)", and by NORMAN THOMAS, EARL BROWDER, ALGERNON LEE, and MAX SHACTMAN, on behalf of their respective groups. They were written in reply to articles in the February 17, February 24, and March 2, 1940 issues of "The Nation" magazine by LEWIS COREY; under the title, "Marxism Reconsidered". In his articles, Mr. COREY begins with the title, "The Marxist Failure", and states it is clear that "Democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian Communism as against that of Fascism, and since Socialism without Democracy is a monstrosity, Socialism too is on the defensive." He states that Marxism contains the seeds of totalitarianism in that it originally calls for a social and economic centralization. COREY says that, "Actually the situation is this: the Socialist system is compatible with totalitarianism. It is, in fact, the basis of a new, all-devouring totalitarianism, because of the new element of political centralization of all economic power".

Mr. COREY also criticizes the Democratic Socialists for not pushing their program in the European nations sufficiently fast to combat and offset Fascism and Communism; and he pointed particularly to the failure of the German Republic prior to Hitler. MOREY'S articles also criticize capitalism, in that although its basic premises of separation of economic and political power and other means of maintaining Democracy and freedom are good, yet the system tends toward monopolistic capitalism and increased state control of economic life, stifling democracy and tending toward Fascism.

In his final article in the series, COREY adopts the thesis that Democracy cannot survive the totalitarian danger and grow if it stands still; "and effective economic measures to solve the crisis must mean the progressive transformation of capitalism toward Democratic Socialism." The program he suggests means gradualism, "Social Democracy was right in its emphasis on Democracy and gradualism; but it misunderstood Democracy, and its gradualism never had any teeth and never drove toward Socialism". "There is no sharp economic break between capitalism and Socialism. If the measures of a transitional program are forthright and direct, if they create a new economic balance, they solve the crisis while safeguarding Democracy; the cumulative effects must mean a progressive transformation of capitalism into Democratic Socialism".

COREY goes on to argue in favor of the Democratic concept of separation of powers as against the Marxist concept of "combination of powers and the abolition of parliamentarianism". He advocates use of the Democratic system, such as found in the United States, with a plea to "Democratize it still further" for the transition to Democratic Socialism. COREY states that, "The alternative is the 'easy' Marxist way, which history shows ends in totalitarianism nightmare."

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The above summary of COREY'S articles is set forth to form a background for BERTRAM WOLFE'S comments thereon, a photostatic copy of which is enclosed.

✓ "Oil and the Good Neighbor"  
"The Nation", April 27, 1940

"Leon Felipe: Poet of Spain's Tragedy"  
American Scholar", July, 1943

"China's Fate"  
"The American Mercury", January, 1947

Mr. WOLFE'S article is a commentary on two then recently published books concerning China, namely KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETT'S, "The Chinese, Their History and Culture", and THEODORE H. WHITE'S and ANNALIE JACOBY'S "Thunder Out of China". Mr. WOLFE praises the former book as a scholarly work and describes the latter as bearing "certain telltale stigmata" in that the book states that the Chinese Communists are not merely Communists but "agrarian democrats" having no connection with Moscow. WOLFE condemns the latter book and points out that the Chinese Communists are directly tied to Moscow, and calls for support of CHIANG KAI SHEK'S Nationalist government.

"Rise and Fall of the Comintern"  
"The American Mercury", March, 1947

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "Pattern for World Revolution" by "Ypsilon", the latter name being a pseudonym for two former Comintern agents. On page 373 of this article, Mr. WOLFE refers to GOTTFELD, THOREZ and other Communist agents in Europe, saying that "these men too were originally idealists and lovers of liberty. But...the authors trace their degeneration into puppets... who can swallow even the purges and the Stalin-Hitler pact...."

A copy of this article is being enclosed.

"Trotsky on Stalin"  
"The American Mercury", July, 1946

This article is Mr. WOLFE'S review of the book, "Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence" by LEON TROTSKY. On page 113 of

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the review, Mr. WOLFE speaks of TROTSKY'S Marxist heritage as a disciple of the greatest sociological thinker of modern times....".

A copy of this article is enclosed.

"The Case of Harry Hopkins"  
The "American Mercury", January, 1949

"Dissenting Opinion of Toynbee"  
The "American Mercury", June, 1947

"Politics and Fiction in Mexico"  
The "American Mercury", June, 1948

"A Compilation of Russian Jokes, Not Passed By the Censor"  
"The New York Times Magazine", July 22, 1951

"The Soviet Inferno"  
"The Saturday Review", February 9, 1952

This is Mr. WOLFE'S review of the book, "The Accused" by ALEXANDER WEISSBURG, which, in turn, dealt with WEISSBURG'S experiences in the great Russian purges of 1936-1939. Mr. WOLFE states that the overall effect of reading the book was "One of deepened understanding and compassion and pride in the capacity of the human soul to resist torture and preserve its integrity."

"Marx On The Truman Doctrine"  
"The Twentieth Century", April, 1951

On page 317 of this article, Mr. WOLFE asks, "Am I stretching things when I suggest that the author of this now sacred text (namely, MARX) loved freedom and hated tyranny; believed deeply in democracy, politically, economically and socially; feared and opposed bureaucracy and slavery and personal, arbitrary rule; cherished all that was best in western civilization and wished to build upon and enlarge it, not undermine and destroy it; feared the glacial spread of the even then too brutal, too dynamic and too total Russian Empire and insisted that it could and must be contained or both democracy and socialism would be lost."



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A copy of this article is enclosed herewith.

"Soviet Dance of Death"

"The Saturday Review", May 20, 1951

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession" by F. BECK and E. GOODIN. The book itself has to do with the ensnarlment of the authors in the great Russian purges of 1936 to 1938. Mr. WOLFE is critical of the purges and of STALIN. Nothing of pertinence was noted.

"More Change The More The Same"

"The Saturday Review", December 20, 1952

In this article, Mr. WOLFE reviews the book, "The Russian Menace to Europe" by KARL MARX and FRIEDRICH ENGELS, as edited by PAUL W. BLACKSTOCK and BERT F. HAZELITZ. WOLFE pointed out that the editors have therein published writings of MARX and ENGELS which have "never circulated freely in the Marxist Soviet Union or are now unobtainable, unquotable or totally suppressed". Mr. WOLFE states that they have been suppressed because, "MARX and ENGELS considered the ruthless expansion of Czarist absolutism to be the greatest menace to the freedom of the Russian people and the freedom of Europe", and Mr. WOLFE states that STALIN probably believes that an unfortunate comparison might be drawn between his own policy and the imperialism of the Czars.

Pertinent insofar as WOLFE'S attitude to MARX and ENGELS is concerned, is the following paragraph of Mr. WOLFE:

"...that (BLACKSTOCK and HAZELITZ) have failed to note that some of what MARX and ENGELS wrote is out of date, some of it youthful blood-curdling bombast, some of it part of their heritage of German nationalism, though much of it contains deep and illuminating insights favorable for our own day. Their few criticisms are so feeble as to suggest an excessive worship of a sacred text, as if one authoritarianism were set up against another. Thus, they single out to quote without demure in their introduction MARX'S estimate of the Russian Government as a civilized government ruling over barbarian masses".

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"Operation Rewrite; Agony of the Soviet Historians"  
"Foreign Affairs", October, 1952

This 10 page article is an analysis by Mr. WOLFE of the problem of the Soviet historians in following the current "party line" in the rewriting of history. WOLFE is uniformly critical and hostile to the Stalin policies.

"Tito and Stalin; Window Into the Cominform"  
"Vital Speeches of the Day", December 1, 1952

This is a speech by Mr. WOLFE delivered before an interested group of specialists, Washington, D.C., June, 1952.

Of interest is WOLFE'S statement therein that Titoism is "of a special interest to the Atlantic Pact nations for it represents the crack in the armor, the break in the walls. I have every sympathy for the plight of the Yugoslav people who are still under the heel (sic) of a totalitarian dictatorship and from their standpoint, it would certainly be much better if TITO were a Democrat and not a totalitarian Communist dictator. But from the standpoint of our interest at the present phase of the cold war, I couldn't help thinking TITO is more useful as a Communist than he would be as a Democrat."

WOLFE condemns the fact that TITO'S state is Stalinist in character, but approves United States aid to Yugoslavia, not as an endorsement of the regime but because TITO'S opposition to STALIN creates a "better situation rather than a worse situation".

The "International Index to Periodicals" was reviewed from 1928 to the present, and it was noted that Mr. WOLFE is the author of the following articles:

"Balance Sheet of Behaviorism"  
"The Virginia Quarterly Review", October, 1930

NY 123-3898

"The Novel in Latin America"  
"The Antioch Review," June, 1943

"Russian Intelligensia"  
"The Antioch Review," December, 1945

"Diego Rivera-People's Artist"  
"The Antioch Review," March, 1947

"The Influence of Early Military Decisions Upon the National Structure of  
the Soviet Union"  
"American Slavic and East European Review," October, 1950

"Our Time of Troubles"  
"The Antioch Review," June, 1951

"Science Joins the Party"  
"The Antioch Review," March, 1950

In the last named article, Mr. WOLFE criticized the Soviet attempt to "Sovietize" science by allowing "Bureaucrat-politicians" to make decisions of scientific questions. The other articles listed in the "International Index to Periodicals" were reviewed, but nothing of pertinence was noted.

In his article, "Balance Sheet of Behaviorism," WOLFE criticized both the purely metaphysical psychologist and the behaviorists who conducted their experiments as if man were only a physical being.

The Catalog of Printed Cards, published by the Library of Congress, reflects that WOLFE is the author of the following works:

"The Civil War in Spain"  
1937

"Diego Rivera, His Life and Times"  
1939, and Spanish edition, 1941

"Marx and America"  
1934

"Mundo Sin Muerte" (Deathless Days)  
1942

NY 123-3898

"What is the Communist Opposition"  
1933

"Diego Rivera"  
1947

"Three Who Made a Revolution"  
1948

The indices of the "New York Times" was reviewed from 1931 to the present. The following mention of BERTRAM D. WOLFE appears in the "New York Times":

Issue of February 2, 1936, page 5, column 1:

"MOONEY is Proposed to Head Labor Party. Opposition Communists Call on Socialists and Others to Join 'Class-conscious' move."

"The Socialist and Communist Parties, together with progressive and radical labor organizations throughout the country were urged yesterday afternoon by the Communist Party of the United States (Opposition) to unite their forces for the November elections and form a labor party headed by TOM MOONEY, who has been in a California Prison for twenty years, as presidential candidate.

"Announcement of the proposed third party was made by BERTRAM D. WOLFE, at the Communist Opposition Headquarters, 51 West 14th Street. He appealed to the two political parties to 'brush aside all party concerns of a partisan or factional character and advance the cause of united political action at labor by giving their 'whole hearted' support to the contemplated party.'

"He made public a copy of a letter sent two days ago to the Socialist and Communist Party leaders by his organization, in which it was disclosed that a United Labor ticket with TOM MOONEY at the head 'would reach deep into every corner of the American labor movement. It would unite the class-conscious citizens of the working class in a common task' the letter asserted. 'It would win ready access and free questions and even the most conservative unions, and it would provide the firmest and most promising basis for the rapid development of a national labor party in the near future.'"

The article went on to state that the proposal had been rejected by spokesmen of the New York Socialist Party and by the Communist Party of America.

NY 123-3898

Issue of June 10, 1945:

"BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the nineteen signers of a letter to the editor of the "New York Times" which counselled that the German people as a whole should not be blamed for the war crimes of the Nazi Party leaders."

It is noted that the current edition of "Who's Who In America" states that in 1950 and 1951, BERTRAM D. WOLFE was a senior fellow at the Russian Institute, Columbia University, and has been on leave since 1951 as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Unit of the International Broadcasting Division, Department of State.

There is also being enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of an article written by Mr. WOLFE, appearing in the September, 1947 issue of the "American Mercury," entitled "Marx-The Man and His Legacy."

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU - (5)

Copy of "Marx-The Man and His Legacy."  
Copy of "The Marxists Reply to Corey."  
Copy of "The Rise and Fall of the Comintern."  
Copy of "Trotsky and Stalin."  
Copy of "Marx on the Truman Doctrine."

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Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Trotsky on Stalin,"  
American Mercury, July, 1946

123-5791-33

Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "The Rise and Fall of the Comintern,"  
American Mercury, March, 1947.

BUFILE 123-5791-33

## THE CHECK LIST



### BIOGRAPHY

**STENDHAL**, by Matthew Josephson. \$4.00. *Doubleday*. Mr. Josephson here proves again that he has a considerable diligence in research. All his biographies — of Zola, of Rousseau, of Victor Hugo, and now of Stendhal — are big with facts and quotations and a general show of scholarship. Yet they all fail to satisfy completely in the end, because they are the work of a journalist who seems to be trying hard, and in vain, to be a critic and a literary historian. His latest biography of the author of *The Red and the Black* and *Charterhouse of Parma* is perhaps his biggest failure to date, because Stendhal apparently is the furthest removed from his comprehension. He misses Stendhal's mysticism, his tragic sense of life (even and especially when in the arms of a woman), and his sense of the vanity even of philosophy and poetry. Josephson pictures him as little more than a character in a Grade A movie.

**CRITICS & CRUSADERS**, by Charles A. Madison. \$3.50. *Holt*. Mr. Madison has divided America's critics and crusaders into six well-established categories: the abolitionists, the utopians, the anarchists, the dissident economists, the militant liberals and the socialists. From each category he has selected three representatives to write about. The result is some 550 immensely readable pages of Americana comprising eighteen short biographies and six introductory essays. The material is not, as the author admits, based on any original research, but perhaps the chief defect of the book is the lack of a unifying thread.

**THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERNER**, by Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin. \$3.00. *Knopf*. Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin was born some fifty

years ago in Macon, Georgia. Reared in the reactionary spirit of the Old South, she accepted its values unconditionally. Not until Miss Lumpkin came under the influences of the socio-economic forces in other parts of the Republic was she able to emancipate herself from her early conditioning. Her story is the account of her metamorphosis from the status of a Southern die-hard to that of a person of civilized maturity. Miss Lumpkin has written a fascinating book. One can only wish that her experience were general; that it might be the story of the majority of our Southern citizens instead of a handful.

**NELSON**, by Carola Oman. \$5.00. *Doubleday*. To add to the already long list of books on Nelson may, at first blush, seem quite unnecessary. However, Carola Oman's study has the virtue of being based on some new documents, including a number of Nelson's letters only recently discovered. Miss Oman, who is the daughter of Charles Oman, the eminent historian and professor of Oxford University, has done a scholarly job. Her book makes pleasant reading.

**BRING ALONG LAUGHTER**, by Milla Logan. \$2.50. *Random House*. Milla Zenovich Logan, who was born in California, is the daughter of Yugoslav parents. Her story, written somewhat in the manner of Saroyan, tells of the fantastic doings of a Serbian family living in San Francisco. The book, at times, is extravagantly humorous, but unfortunately Miss Logan has burdened herself with too difficult an assignment. To portray realistically a group of people seeking to make life a long and continuously merry feast is a formidable job, and Miss Logan, unfortunately, has not been equal to it.



Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Marx--The Man and His Legacy,"  
The American Mercury, September, 1947.

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## THE LIBRARY

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### MARX—THE MAN AND HIS LEGACY

by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**

THERE is a strange ambivalence in Leopold Schwarzschild's new biography of Karl Marx [*The Red Prussian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx*. \$4.00, Scribner]. On the one hand he is determined to prove that his protagonist was trivial, ignorant, mean, lacking in the power of logical thought or intellectual concentration, a *poseur* in the realm of ideas who never set down an original notion or a clear concept, who did not believe what he himself wrote and could not persuade others to believe it, who wrote in order to avoid useful labor and to sponge on his friends while pretending to be at work on important books, or in order to win superiority over some potential rival in a minuscule circle of crack-brains, who was master only of some tricks of plagiarism, logical and

terminological sleight-of-hand and poisonous invective, who ruined every enterprise he ever touched and alienated or destroyed every capable person who came into contact with him, who died friendless, exposed, discredited, believed in by no one but a baker's dozen of unconditional dim-wits, no longer believing even in himself, an utter and absolute failure, "an o without a figure."

And on the other hand, Dr. Schwarzschild would convict this same anti-hero of responsibility for Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and all the major ills of our age. Convict him of responsibility not only for his own views but for those who traduced them, those who perverted them, those who made a political career out of opposing them, and, "in one way or another" (a happy phrase strangely reminiscent of Marx's own too ready use of the expression, "in the last analysis"), make him responsible for "all the most important facts of our

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**BERTRAM D. WOLFE'S** most recent contribution to *THE AMERICAN MERCURY* was a "Dissenting Opinion on Toynbee," published in the June issue. He is at present writing a history of the Russian Revolution in the form of a "triple biography" of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.

time." Dr. Schwarzschild would even convict his subject of responsibility for the voluntary or involuntary bankruptcy of the liberal tradition, which was neither Marxist, pseudo-Marxist nor anti-Marxist.

"If a name had to be found for the age in which we live," reads the first paragraph of Dr. Schwarzschild's 400-page indictment,

we might safely call it the Marxian era. For, in one way or another, the most important facts of our time lead back to one man — Karl Marx. . . . Without Marx there would have been no Lenin, no Communist Russia . . . no totalitarian states. . . . And after all, it is because of Marx that the rest of the world has for years been obliged to sacrifice one after another of its liberal traditions to the necessity of self-preservation. There can be no doubt that our whole life would be very different if Marx had never lived.

It is possible to attribute the ills of our age "in one way or another" to any great movement or complex of events of the last century — to the French Revolution, for instance, with its revolutionary war, its universal conscription, its bonapartism, its plebiscitary "democracy," its nationalism and its terror. It is even possible to make out a case for attribution of our ills to a single great man, or, if you will, great devil. But it is not possible to attribute such superhuman responsibility and influence to an absurd, trivial, despicable nonentity, a rimless zero. After all, even the Devil owes his powers to the fact that he is a fallen angel.

## II

"The tree is known by his fruit," writes Dr. Schwarzschild in justification of his book, and "practically all previous biographies of Marx were written before any fruit had ripened." To judge the tree by its fruit is surely a valid method. But which is the fruit? Is it the democratic socialist movement or the totalitarian Communist movement? Dr. Schwarzschild gives no hint of the existence of the former, though in much of Europe it is today the only hopeful alternative to totalitarianism, and he gives no sign of having examined the latter to see whether or how much it may be taking Marx's name in vain.

Did not Lenin call himself a Marxist? reasons the author. Does not Stalin call himself a Marxist and a Leninist? But Dr. Schwarzschild evades the real problems of attribution: what elements of Marxism may have been taken, perhaps from their total context, to pave the way for Leninism? How much of Leninism springs from the old Russian tradition, which the greatest of Russian historians, Klyuchevsky — writing under Tsarism — summed up in the formula: "The state swells up; the people diminish." How much of Leninism is a continuation of the Russian centralist, terrorist, conspiracy of the nineteenth century, and how much is in the tradition of West European socialism and democracy? How far did Lenin prepare the way for Stalin, and how far does

Stalinism (which had to falsify the history of Lenin's revolution and murder all of Lenin's closest associates) represent a break with Leninism? The problem is not a simple one, for elements both of continuity and of break are present. But these real problems of attributions and responsibility are not touched upon by the author. It is sufficient for him that Lenin pronounced himself an orthodox Marxist, and that Stalin has awarded himself the title of "the best disciple of Comrade Lenin." But in this not-so-simple world of ours, is every man what he says he is? When Taft pronounces himself a Republican "of the Republican party of Abraham Lincoln," does that mean that if Lincoln had never lived there would be no Taft-Hartley labor bill? Or when Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge declare themselves faithful Jeffersonian Democrats does that make Jefferson, "in one way or another," responsible for Bilboism, Rankinism and Talmadgism? It is hard to see how any man can write fruitfully about politics if he has not learned the first proposition of the political Euclid: parties and politicians are not to be judged by their labels.

But there is another justification offered for this new biography which has to be taken more seriously:

In recent times a body of material has been made available which was not at the disposal of earlier writers — the complete correspondence of Marx and Engels. . . . A collection of these letters published shortly before the first World War, as it

turned out later, was *deliberately and carefully purged of everything which could place Marx in an unfavorable light*. . . . These letters (complete and uncensored) we now have at our disposal. They reveal to us, the true Marx. . . .

To some extent this material is actually new, although Franz Mehring's friendly and scholarly biography made use of both private letters and public documents to chide Marx for injustice to Lasalle and Bakunin. But the quantity of new material made available by the uncensored letters is enormous, and Dr. Schwarzschild has actually reversed the censorship method he refers to above, for he has *deliberately and carefully purged the letters of everything which could place Marx in a favorable light*. Going over them with a fine-tooth comb he has extracted every spiteful and ill-humored word, every ironical, satirical or cynical side-remark, every private jest at the expense of self or others, every momentary weariness with seemingly endless, fruitless labor, every touch of self-doubt and despair, every attempt to apply egotistical balm to his wounds. He has combed the letters as he accuses Marx of having combed economics books, merely to bolster his thesis and strengthen his indictment. Though Marx endured martyrdom and stubbornly adhered to his purpose, his is no saintly figure but rather a lonely, irascible, difficult one, a man who complained of his boils and his poverty and his obscurity, who begged his friends for help in order that his

family might not actually die of starvation (poverty was the real slayer of two of his children) while he continued to toil on his masterpiece, *Das Kapital*. All too often he solaced himself with sarcastic or poisonous remarks about rivals and opponents, great and small, indulged in demeaning puns like Pissmarck for Bismarck and making snide references to Lassalle's Jewishness (though he himself was descended from a family of rabbis). He was cocksure — this is what sustained him — that he had great truths to communicate. And he was blindly intolerant of all who offered substitutes or alternatives or vulgarized fragments of his views. Everyone who knows Marx only through his public writings would do well to read this cumulative catalogue of the man's weaknesses and deficiencies. But those who are not familiar with the public writings will get a totally false picture of the man and his work from this implacable summary for the prosecution.

Moreover, the use of the letters to present "the true Marx" raises an important question of biographical method. What this question is I can best illustrate from two of my own attempts at biography, those of Diego Rivera and of Lenin. From Rivera's letters and the gossip of his family and friends I learned, among other things, that human beings are fearfully and wonderfully and incongruously made, and that great men may be even more so than ordinary people. My real problem was to discover how much

light his love affairs, his political games and zigzags, his tall tales, etc., really threw upon his achievements as a painter. It was his public work as a public figure, not his private extravagances, that made him rate a biography. Even his playing with politics had to be considered primarily for the light it threw upon the far more serious "politics" of his painting: the choice of a public fresco medium, certain aspects of his technique and much of the content of his painting. Lenin's exemplary private life raises an opposite type of problem. I learned that he loved music, that when he listened to Beethoven he "wanted to stroke the heads of people who can create such beauty while living in this vile hell." He loved his mother, his sisters, his wife, children and cats. But how much (something, no doubt) does all this tell me about his use of public terror?

In a word, public men must be judged first of all by their public actions. And their private lives, foibles, relations are of importance chiefly insofar as they may throw light on the public actions which merited a biography. But Dr. Schwarzschild has not only denied himself all positive light from the letters; he has even tried to substitute the private for the public man as "the true Marx."

### III

If it is indeed a man's public work by which primarily a public man should be estimated — in this case Marx's

main writings and their subsequent influence — then Dr. Schwarzchild's book has little to offer. As with the letters, his method of "analysis" is to comb the works for deficiencies and weaknesses. He employs the device of treating every utterance as an equally valid part of a uniformly sacred canon, so that he can give neither sense of growth nor of structure. Indeed, wherever later formulations of Marx prove to be more qualified, precise and refined, Dr. Schwarzchild, without citing the dates, hastens to oppose them with earlier statements, as if these were refutations or cancellations. Or he seeks to prove that such a private person as he conceives Marx to be could not possibly have meant seriously such a public utterance. But one can neither exhibit nor destroy a thought structure by a prolonged *argumentum ad hominem*.

Our biographer has too much loathing to try to understand what he is trying to refute. He fails to sink his teeth (as against the teeth of his "fine-comb") into the solid structure of *Das Kapital*. If he had, he would have discovered that the essence of Marx's critique of capitalism lies in his humanistic doctrine of "fetishism" — that, as the African fetish-worshiper forgets that the wooden image is the work of his own hands, and lets it assume command over him, so man has forgotten that machinery and goods are human contrivances meant to serve man's humanity, and he has become subject to his own machines and commodities instead of master

over them. Had Dr. Schwarzchild made that discovery about Marxism, the whole thesis of his book would have fallen apart.

He assures us that *Das Kapital* does not have to be taken seriously anyhow, because it was written merely to eclipse Lasalle and Bakunin, and because Volume III "refutes" Volume I. He claims Marx knew this, the sly fellow, so he stopped work on it and left to the faithful Engels the dreary task of publishing it posthumously. But a study of the texts would have shown him that the relevant portions of Volume III were actually written *before* Volume I was published. And a study of the structure would have shown him that Volume I "abstracts" from certain economic phenomena (such as the competition of capital) in order to study certain other phenomena in their "abstract purity." Hence, when in Volume III Marx reintroduces the complicating factor of competition to show how it modifies the laws derived by "abstracting from it," he is no more refuting those laws, if laws they are, than a physicist refutes the law of the uniform rate of acceleration of a falling body (discovered by abstracting from the complicating factor of air friction) when later, in aerodynamics, he reintroduces the complicating factor of air friction and gets a variable instead of a uniform rate of acceleration.

Having proved to his satisfaction that Marx was a mere nullity and a ridiculous charlatan, Dr. Schwarzchild still insists that our age should

be called "the Marxian era." Without attributing as much evil or as much potency to Marx as he does, we may well agree that in a certain sense the present age may be called "Marxian."

If we were to select the two representatives of the last century whose views have had the most obvious influence upon the dominant thought of our own, we might well select Marx and Darwin. Many of their insights, sometimes directly, sometimes by derivation, have become part of our unconscious approach to problems. In retrospect they can be seen to have been terminal points in a long period during which Western thought became accustomed to the idea of change, natural and social, the idea that both nature and institutions have a "history." The Middle Ages might well have inscribed over its halls of learning: "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, World without end." But cosmography after Newton, geology after Lyell, technology after Watt, history after the French Revolution, accustomed the mind to the idea of ceaseless change, change with a real or an apparent definite direction, even sudden and violent change: genetics, evolution and revolution. Darwin sought to discover the law of change in species; Marx the "law of motion" of capitalist society. Both expressed their century's implicit faith that change, by and large, meant progress. Both got their initial ideas in a flash — which seems so preposterous to Schwarzschild — and spent their lives sustaining, refining,

developing. Darwin's very "English" predisposition to note the gradualness of evolution and Marx's "continental" predisposition to concentrate on those nodal points where prior cumulative change bursts out into rapid, dramatic and radical transformation — both have had to be supplemented and corrected. Mutants, the inheritance of acquired characters where the genes are affected, are some of the corrections introduced into Darwin's picture.

And Marx, who began his political life in the midst of the powder and barricades of 1848 and under the spell of the Great French Revolution, himself began a reluctant process of correction by acknowledging the importance of reforms like the British Factory Laws, and recognizing the possibility of "a peaceful revolution" in democratic countries like England, the United States, Holland and Belgium. So, too, he corrected his early excessive statism, centralism and authoritarianism after witnessing the Paris Commune of 1870. Subsequent events have painfully impressed on latter-day socialists the realization that the decline of capitalism does not automatically lead to socialism, that not every revolution is good, that freedom has to be planned for as well as abundance or we shall have neither, that much of our cumulative heritage is too precious to be scrapped merely for the appearance of a more complete break with the past. "Prove all things and hold on to that which is good," might well serve as the two-pronged

formula of democratic socialism's present attitude toward all existing institutions.

To the political influence of Marx we must add the powerful, if largely indirect, influence he exercises on the intellectual approach of our age to a variety of fields. Besides the emphasis on the "economics of politics," the so-called "mature economy" and the "falling rate of profit," the heightened interest in the economic crisis, and the general sense of social change, we must note more subtle phenomena such as a stronger sense of social pattern (of the interrelatedness of economics, politics, thought, the style or *zeitgeist* of an age or society); a stronger sense of historicity (the necessity of defining institutions, phenomena, concepts not as timeless but as historically conditioned); a stronger sense — perhaps overdeveloped — of what might be called ideological historicity. To be sure, Marx does not stand alone in these respects and his influence is

more often indirect than direct, but his unsystematic, sometimes contradictory, though dramatically stated and always seminal thoughts represent one of the culminating points in a whole congeries of schools and thinkers.

Today no anthropologist approaches a "culture" and no historian a "period" without being unconsciously influenced by these insights. Who today would write of Inca or Egyptian theocracy without some consideration of the formative influence of the need of public irrigation works in the Andes or Nile valley? What historian could consider the rise of Protestantism without some examination of its relationship to the rise of capitalism? Though Dr. Schwarzschild calls ours "the Marxian era" he does not even essay the central task of determining to what extent Marx's contributions are imbedded in our age's way of thinking. He does not seem to recognize that the problem exists.





Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "Marx on the Truman Doctrine,"  
Twentieth Century, April, 1951.

BUFILE 123-5791-33

~~Copy~~ Enclosure to Bureau

Copy of "The Marxists Reply to Corey,"  
The Nation, March 9, 1940.

BUFILE 123-5791-33

Puerto Ricans are apprehensive and say so freely. And they tell you in the same breath that General Daley, commander of the American forces in Puerto Rico, has closed the Casa Blanca to the public. Now the Casa Blanca is as important a national—Puerto Rican—monument as the Fortaleza. It was the home of the family of Ponce de León, and it has stood through peace and war and sun and hurricane for 417 years. It is now the home of General Daley, who has chosen to close its doors and treat it as if it were a private house. But Puerto Ricans say the Casa Blanca also belongs to Puerto Rico; naturally it is General Daley's official residence, but how could it hurt him to open it to the public on certain days for certain hours? Especially since the General is a bachelor. Behind this quite logical attitude one senses a complex emotion compounded of national pride and possessiveness along with a less conscious resentment that the particular dog in this manger should be the general commanding the American troops, now multiplying so fast and so visibly in the streets of the city.

Do you notice that I use the word "American" in speaking of people or things or influences from the United States? If I were writing from any other Latin American country, I would not do that. I would say "North American" or "United States" (though the latter is an atrocious adjective), because obviously the people of all the countries are equally "American" and the tendency of the United States to apply the term to itself alone is properly resented throughout the rest of the hemisphere.

Except in Puerto Rico. Strange irony, in Puerto Rico, which is part of the United States, the people, who are citizens of the United States, always call themselves "Puerto Ricans" and always call people from the United States "Americans." It is as if, in their anxious national pride and their determination to make the difference felt, they were deliberately forfeiting their claim to the larger title. Since they cannot share it as equals or independents, they will not share it at all. The people from the mainland can be Americans; Puerto Ricans will be Puerto Ricans.

## The Marxists Reply to Corey

*[Because of the wide interest and controversy aroused by Lewis Corey's series of articles—Marxism Reconsidered—in the last three numbers of The Nation, we asked leaders of five Marxist parties to set forth their "first reactions" to Mr. Corey's argument. Their answers are published herewith. We hope in the near future to publish other and more detailed analyses of the issues raised by Mr. Corey.—EDITORS THE NATION.]*

NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Party

THE era now drawing to its end has been dominated by the interaction of two great loyalties, or concepts, and the institutions based upon them: in the political world, nationalism; in the economic world, private capitalism. The failure of the social order founded upon these concepts is tragically evident. Socialism, which was the most vigorous and scientific critic of that order, is itself today universally on the defensive because of its failure to achieve its own ends, either under the forms of social democracy in Germany or of communism in Russia.

From that double failure we have at least learned this: that the drift toward, or the achievement of, a high degree of collectivism not only is not of itself equivalent to socialism but does not bring socialism inevitably nearer. It is a sign of life and vigor that within Socialist ranks there is such a searching reexamination of the external

situation and of Socialist dogmas in relation to it as Lewis Corey has given us in recent issues of *The Nation*.

With what Mr. Corey has said I am largely in agreement. I have not space in the limits assigned me to clarify my position adequately. Three points I must make, briefly and dogmatically.

1. It is true that "socialism must express and realize the interest of all useful functional groups within society." That fact must lead Socialists to a reappraisal of their definitions of both the "working class" and the "middle class," and they must take respectful account of important elements of society which regard themselves as middle class. But not at the cost of losing their concern for the dispossessed, which *Fortune* recently estimated at 23 per cent of our American population, and their hope in the wage-earning proletariat. Moreover, it is highly important for the achievement of a better society that farmers, engineers, and other useful sections of the American middle class should learn to think of themselves as workers in the best sense of the word, and to realize that labor of hand and brain should bring economic rewards. This is an idea not popular with a middle class which, however blurred the boundaries, is more class conscious than the proletariat.

2. The "final conflict," as Socialists used to envision it, was to be between a vigorous and ruthless class of private owners, symbolized and led by what we call "Wall Street," and a Socialist collectivism for which the workers consistently would struggle. Actually, as

Mr. Corey points out in his third article, "capitalism is already being transformed." The whole world drift is toward collectivism. The real final conflict will be between a fascist collectivism, or more accurately the collectivism of the totalitarian state, and a democratic socialism. Recognition of this fact in time would give new hope, at any rate in America, for the success of non-violent methods of struggle.

Mr. Corey gives a good general picture of his "people's functional socialism" and the steps toward it, but it is imperatively necessary for him, as for all Socialists who agree with the point of view which he has expressed, to fill in the important details of their program more explicitly. I await his fuller treatment eagerly.

3. If the older socialism was mistaken in believing that it was the historical destiny of the "working class" almost automatically to achieve socialism, so will the modern advocates of the glories of "democracy," or even of a "people's functional socialism," be mistaken if they think that there is anything in the untutored and instinctive processes of the democracy we now have by which we shall achieve plenty, peace, and freedom. It is the failure of that democracy which gives rise to fascism. The achievement of our great ends requires socialism, and it requires a creative socialism, a socialism conscious of its goal and of its program, a socialism which must rest on its own organizational power. To be sure, such socialism must work in and through mass movements and mass organizations of various sorts, but emphatically it needs its own political expression. What the New Deal has done, especially if it involves America in war, can be a preparation for fascism just as truly as for the achievement of democratic socialism. Indeed, fascism, military or otherwise, in some form and under some name will win the day in America unless within the next few years a democratic Socialist movement can be built.

EARL BROWDER

Communist Party

Your invitation to write a "critical first reaction" to Lewis Corey's articles, *Marxism Reconsidered*, has caused me to read them. Here is my critical first reaction.

The underlying thought, it seems to me, could be most clearly set forth in a syllogism of formal logic:

Major premise: Mr. Corey was the most penetrating exponent of Marxist thought after Marx himself.

Minor premise: Mr. Corey failed.

Conclusion: Marxism is a failure.

Granted the first premise, the conclusion is irrefutable. But it is the first premise that must be rejected. Mr. Corey, in all his independent writings, has always struggled against Marxism, not expounded it (see the pamphlet "Leninism—the Only Marxism Today," by Bittelman and Jerome, 1934). What he has now reconsidered is

not the validity of Marxism but rather the method of struggle against it; where formerly he conducted his fight under the guise of an adherent, he now comes out openly as an opponent. That much, at least is clear gain. May the Lord protect us from our friends; our enemies we have learned how to deal with.

As I plodded through Mr. Corey's "arguments," my subconscious mind was busy rummaging in the dim past, and as I laid the papers aside there was thrust into my consciousness a famous phrase from the age of the good Queen Victoria: "the blessed word, Mesopotamia." Yes, Mr. Corey has his blessed word, which he substitutes impartially for all the missing elements of the rational process, and which casts over all a thick aura of righteousness (or should one say self-righteousness?). It is the magic word "totalitarianism."

With this blessed word Mr. Corey conjures up the whole of his newly acquired ideology, without the inconvenience of having to set it forth in specific terms; with this word he *assumes* as established, without further examination, the propositions which his articles purport to prove to the reader. This little sleight-of-hand performance will not, of course, disturb those whose minds operate from the same assumption. We may fairly expect Mr. Corey to be quite a lion, for the next few weeks, in those circles where the blessed word solves all problems and answers all questions. With equal assurance we may expect that in critical and thinking circles, whether Marxian or otherwise, Mr. Corey's "reconsideration" will gain him but the recognition that here is a man who should go far under a Rooseveltian third term.

As honest and forthright men are more and more driven from public life by the hunger-and-war program of the "national unity" camp forming around Roosevelt, they will be replaced by the most glib devotees of the blessed word "totalitarianism." This word is the battle cry of the American bourgeoisie embarked upon a holy crusade to save Europe from socialism, from proletarian revolution, and to assure itself the lion's share of profit from a salvaged European capitalism.

Mr. Corey should hear the knock of opportunity upon his door with increasing insistence, once these articles come to the attention of the right people.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Independent Labor League (Lovestonites)

Western socialism, based on traditions of bourgeois democracy and democratic unionism, has for some time been trying to shake off the incubus of blind acceptance—and blind rejection—of the Russian Revolution, a revolution occurring where both bourgeois and proletarian democracy were lacking. The Corey articles now broaden the scope of the discussion and thereby perform a significant service, for out of such discussion alone can

come the necessary clarification, reunification, and new advance toward socialism.

Corey makes it clear that socialism's errors and defeats do not give capitalism new vigor. Decay continues: from free trade to monopoly; toward longer and deeper crises; from productive abundance to legislated scarcity; toward autarchy and recurrent war. Capitalism is in transition toward "some sort of collectivism"—the real choice being between monopolistic, oligarchical, authoritarian forms and democratic socialism. What we have learned is that nationalization of industry does not automatically lead to increased democracy or to "withering of the state," but rather increases the dangers of totalitarianism and the need of a conscious drive to achieve freedom. This emphasis on the inseparability of democracy and socialism is the major service of Corey's articles.

With Corey's analyses I have several disagreements:

1. I think he underestimates the trade union as the most important single institution for the development of economic democracy.

2. Corey rightly emphasizes the need for a socialism expressing the interests of all functionally useful groups. But if socialism is not, in the first instance, the expression of a democratic mass movement of which labor is the most important constituent, then it is nothing at all. Is not the working class the most numerous and significant single class in modern society? Who else is to form the core and driving force? With whom shall Corey's "new middle class" combine, when it is won away from adherence to monopoly capitalism and the status quo? The greater danger is not, as Corey seems to imply, that of dictatorship by the mass of producers over technicians and administrators, but—as happened in Russia—the dictatorship of indispensable technician-administrators over the mass of producer-consumers. If the "new middle class," as some technocrats and other followers of *Common Sense* imply, is to become the core of the movement toward a new order, then bureaucracy and totalitarianism are hardly avoidable.

3. Corey rightly rejects the schematic caricature concept of class often advanced, and would use it rather as "a tool with which to identify and delimit those class interests that must be destroyed in order to realize progressive class interests." But this is quite different from the sweeping title *The Class-War Fallacy*, which I fancy is a cuckoo egg laid in his nest by some *Nation* editor.

At the extremes of the social spectrum there is more class consciousness, actual and potential, than the articles seem to reckon with. At the right, a handful has sufficient power to sway governments, manipulate opinion, subsidize fascist movements. The inclusion in the "popular front" of parties controlled by such monopolists of economic power is the real reason for the sterility of such fronts, which Corey notes but does not analyze.

4. He rightly rejects that caricature revolutionism

which worships violence and upheaval for their own sake; he warns of the destructiveness and "totalitarian potential" involved. Rightly, too, he emphasizes continuity where many have one-sidedly emphasized break; but he seems to fall into an opposite one-sidedness.

In order to move toward, not away from, a new social order we require a sharp break: (a) in the *direction* of development; (b) in the *central purpose* of production—from private profit to social use; (c) in the *control* of the mainsprings of economic and political power. Otherwise, as the "older gradualism was distorted by the upswing of capitalism," Corey will find that his new "gradualism"—an equivocal word—will be distorted by the prevailing downswing into becoming, not a new order, but gradual decay and collapse of the very foundations on which such order might be constructed.

5. Undoubtedly violence is a matrix of totalitarianism, yet history still fails to show examples of transitions to a new order without some violent attempt of the privileged to hold on to power. Against such force a democratic majority might conceivably have to use force, in addition to persuasion and affirmation of its will. The latest examples are Austria and Spain. This dilemma must be faced, not evaded.

6. To what extent is modern industry compatible with Marx's belated rejection of centralization (after the Paris Commune) and advocacy of the non-bureaucratic, decentralized, libertarian commune-state? And with Lenin's hope that "every cook" would become a polytechnic multi-expert on every phase of economic, cultural, and social life?

Incidentally, that approach derives, via France, from Jefferson, who proposed an arrangement where "every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward-republic . . . not merely at election one day in the year but every day . . . there shall not be a man in the state who will not be a member of some one of its councils . . . and every citizen can act in person . . . in all things relating to him . . . and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him." Is Jefferson really as out-of-date as the "horse and buggy" spurners glibly imply?

The major lack in the articles I find to be omission of the overshadowing problem of peace and war. It is inextricably tied up with the problems treated. There can be no healthy socialist regrouping if this is evaded or ignored. Modern war involves maximal totalitarianism. The struggle for socialism and freedom is first of all a struggle to prevent war, limit and shorten it where it occurs, transform the institutional and economic arrangements from which it springs.

Finally, these comments are inadequate both as to praise and difference because of limitations of space; and they are personal rather than "official," since the Independent Labor League possesses no "pontifical" views on these questions; nor does it believe that matters essen-

tially experimental and scientific can possibly be "settled" by a vote of a committee, an "authoritative" citation, or adoption of twenty-one points or ninety-five theses.

### ALGERNON LEE

Social-Democratic Federation

"History," says Lewis Corey, "has played one of her stupefying tricks; for it is now clear that democracy is on the defensive as much against the totalitarianism of Russian communism as against that of fascism."

Poor Mr. Corey! His position is surely not an enviable one. But we could better sympathize with him if he took it like a man instead of blaming History. The fault, poor Corey, is not History's, but yours, if you are stupefied. History may be a Theban Sphinx, who slays those who misread her riddles, but a shabby trickstress she is not.

Mr. Corey had served the Bolshevik Moloch for years, and striven to justify his ways before men; had seen him murder the young republic and slaughter its defenders and make Russia a house of horrors; had heard him revile democracy, ridicule men who valued truth above expediency, and explicitly command his acolytes to lie for his greater glory. Five years ago he had seen his Moloch put on a false-face clumsily simulating the features of democracy—but meanwhile explaining to puzzled worshipers in a whisper that all this was only a maneuver. Last August he saw the mask cast aside, saw Bolshevism and Nazism clasping hands—and was Mr. Corey stupefied! Or was he really?

Anyway, he has now more or less emerged from his stupor. Six months, in such a case, is perhaps no more than a fair equivalent for the ten seconds allowed in pugilistic practice. Barely in time, Mr. Corey has come to—somewhat groggy but still in the ring. He really is not clear as to who it was that hit him—maybe it was History, maybe not—and after three-quarters of a column he decides to "square accounts with Marx." Brave man, after all—or perhaps I'd better say rash man! Marx has taken a lot of pounding since he started to fight, but his assailants' knuckles have suffered most.

Am I being too flippant? Not a whit. Mr. Corey seems to have developed what the psychiatrists call a delusion of grandeur. With a magnificent flourish he makes an "admission of failure" on behalf of everybody in sight—save only himself. Communism has failed, Social Democracy has failed, "all variants of Marxism" have failed, non-Marxian radicalism has failed, democracy has failed, and so on. The field is clear—now just watch.

To follow Mr. Corey through some 9,000 words of pontifical irresponsibility and undertake to analyze and answer his argument systematically within my allotted space of 700 words would be folly. The subjects on which he expatiates are important. They must be adequately discussed. But Mr. Corey does not lay the basis.

### MAX SHACHTMAN

Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists)

The title of Mr. Corey's articles is misleading. What he is really reconsidering is post-war Social Democratic reformism, and with a few unimportant verbal improvements he finds it quite acceptable. The fact that he attaches to it the not entirely novel label of "people's socialism" or "functional democratic socialism" testifies only to his squeamishness about fathering what is so thoroughly bankrupt and discredited.

What Corey leaves of revolutionary Marxism after his "reconsideration" is scarcely visible to the naked eye. The Marxian theory of the state is dropped down the chute because, you see, the modern democratic state also performs some useful functions. Presumably its principal function of maintaining the social rule of the propertied class by armed force is secondary to its meritorious work of providing farmers with weather reports and regulating traffic. The Marxian theory of the class struggle and the decisive progressive role of the proletariat goes down the same chute, to be replaced by "the interests of all useful functional groups." The Marxian theory of the seizure of power for the socialist reorganization of society meets the same fate, and is replaced by the ludicrous and outworn theory of a parliamentary democracy that will absorb as much social justice as this sinful world makes possible, but absorb it by a process of osmosis, so "gradually" that the crisis-maddened capitalist class will not notice it. What is left of Marxism? A few liberalist phrases.

Corey's criticism of Social Democratic reformism leaves it essentially intact. The central point in the criticism—the stress which the German Social Democracy laid on the proletariat to the exclusion of the middle class—is simply groundless. To an ever-increasing degree, from the days of Eduard Bernstein at the turn of the century, the German Social Democracy put emphasis on the middle class; all its policies proceeded from fear of "alienating" the middle class. It ended by being completely dominated by middle-class elements. Corey is arguing against a Social Democracy that did not exist only to recommend one that did and still does exist.

This becomes quite clear in the programmatic conclusions at the end of his series. His discomfort in shifting from Marxism to reformism sticks out in every apologetic line. Gradualism? "Yes and no." But far more "yes" than "no." The only serious difference between Corey and the German Social Democrats is that he promises to put "teeth" into his gradualism. The promise need not be taken too seriously, however. Otto Bauer used to talk the same way just before he gave way to Dollfuss. Léon Blum swore that he would not be a Kerensky, only to surrender to the economic and political democracy that now flourishes so sturdily under Daladier.

In reality, Mr. Corey's teeth, and those of most middle-class radicals, are chattering with fright in the grow-

5206

May 22, 1953

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 Born January 19, 1896  
 Brooklyn, New York

This information is being furnished as a result of your request for an FBI file check only and is not to be considered as a clearance or nonclearance of the individual involved.

A search of the records of this Bureau failed to locate any data pertinent to your inquiry other than that which is set forth below.

For information concerning the subject of your inquiry, you are referred to the files of the following agencies:

Reports furnished you September 7, 1950,  
 captioned "Bertram David Wolfe, Voice Of America."  
 123-5791

Original to State  
 Request received April 6, 1953  
 Reason Given: U. S. Specialists to Germany  
 H. C. Dillon:jl

Tele. Room  
 Ladd  
 Nichols  
 Belmont  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Harbo  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Gearty  
 Mohr  
 Winterrowd  
 Tele. Room  
 Holloman  
 Sizoo  
 Miss Gandy

RECORDED - 9

123-5791-34

56.8

Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

DATE: June 29, 1953

FROM : Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

RECORDED-92

126

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated May 14, 1953,  
furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the  
captioned individual. These reports were furnished for information and con-  
sideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any  
Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to  
the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure con-  
taining further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being  
furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to the Department in  
this case.

JUN 29 1953

MAILED 28

123-5791

Enclosures (2)

BHE:arh

25 AUG 12 1953

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Gearty  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
 Sizoo  
Miss Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



5705

123-5791

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

RECORDED-92

Date:

June 29, 1953

EX-126 To:

Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

From:

John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject:

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Ailbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letter dated May 14, 1953,  
and to my previous letters transmitting the results of the  
investigation previously conducted concerning the above-named  
individual.

Additional information has been received which is  
set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated  
June 12, 1953, at Washington, D. C., two copies of which are  
attached.

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b7c

BY SP. MSGR.

The information in the enclosed report is furnished  
to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_

cc: (1) Assistant Attorney General (Under separate cover)

Warren Olney III

RHE:arh

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office

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VERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (123-5791)

DATE: June 12, 1953

FROM : SAC, WFO (123-5405)

R.B. *[initials]*  
SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka.  
Chief, Ideological Trust Unit  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*[Handwritten: 11-10 21-1]*

Re WFO report dated June 12, 1953, copies of which  
are attached.

Referral/Consult

ABH:wck

2 New York (123-3898) (Enc. 1)  
Enclosures 7

RECORDED-92

INDEXED-92  
EX-126

JUN 16 1953

123-5791-35  
EMP. SEC. *[initials]*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title:

BENTHAM DAVID WOLFE, aka;  
Daniel Shays,  
Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright,  
Albert Ward,  
L. Vargas,  
Chief,  
Ideological Trust Unit,  
Voice of America,  
Department of State,  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*P*

123-5771-35

Report of:

Special Agent

b6  
b7C

Date and Place:

June 12, 1953, at Washington, D.C.

PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned. This is an FBI investigative report and makes no recommendation for clearance or disapproval.

*This is amended copy of loyalty report and should not be removed from file for dissemination purposes. If dissemination necessary, copies should be made of this copy.*

*8786*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

|   |                                  |   |   |
|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>WASHINGTON D. C.</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>6/12/53</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>4/2;5/5,6,8.12.13,21,26/53</b>        | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>ANKER B. HARPO wck</b>   |
| TITLE<br><b>CHANGED<br/>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka: Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell, Albert Allbright, Albert Ward, L. Vargas<br/>CHIEF, IDEOLOGICAL TRUST UNIT, VOICE OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>  |                                  |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES</b>   |
| SYNOPSIS OF FACTS<br><b>AGENCY <u>cc - Army</u><br/>REQ. REC'D <u>5-26-54</u><br/>REP'T FORW. <u>9-2-56</u><br/>BY <u>J. C. C.</u></b>  |                                  |   | <b>AGENCY <u>cc - CIA</u><br/>REQ. REC'D <u>5-26-54</u><br/>REP'T FORW. <u>6-18-54</u><br/>BY <u>J. C. C.</u></b> |
| Information appearing in passport records set out and information appearing in Security Files utilized.   |                                  |   |   |
| - RUC -   |                                  |   |   |
| REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 30, 1953   |                                  |   |   |
| Title of this report has been marked changed in order to include name which WOLFE admitted using, according to information appearing in the Security Records of the State Department. These names are DANIEL SHAYS, ALBERT LOVELL, ALBERT ALBRIGHT, ALBERT WARD, L. VARGAS  |                                  |   |   |
| <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"><div><b>2 cc: cda<br/>1 cc: GAO<br/>6-2-53<br/>RHE</b></div><div><b>10 men Expt<br/>C AGENCY <u>Expt</u> <u>4574</u><br/>REQ. REC'D <u>2-7-57</u><br/>REP'T FORW. <u>2-21-57</u><br/>BY <u>ay</u></b></div><div><b>AGENCY <u>CSI DIST OFF 4</u><br/>REQ. REC'D <u>11/15/57</u><br/>REP'T FORW. <u>11/23/57</u><br/>BY <u>W. R. K.</u></b></div></div> |                                  |   |   |
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><b>R. B. H.</b>  | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE          | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES<br><b>RECORDED-92<br/>INDEXED-92</b> |   |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br><b>7 Bureau (123-5791)<br/>1 New York (Info.) (123-3898)<br/>1 Washington Field (123-5405)</b>   |                                  | <b>JUN 23 1953</b><br><b>EMP. SEC.</b>                            |   |

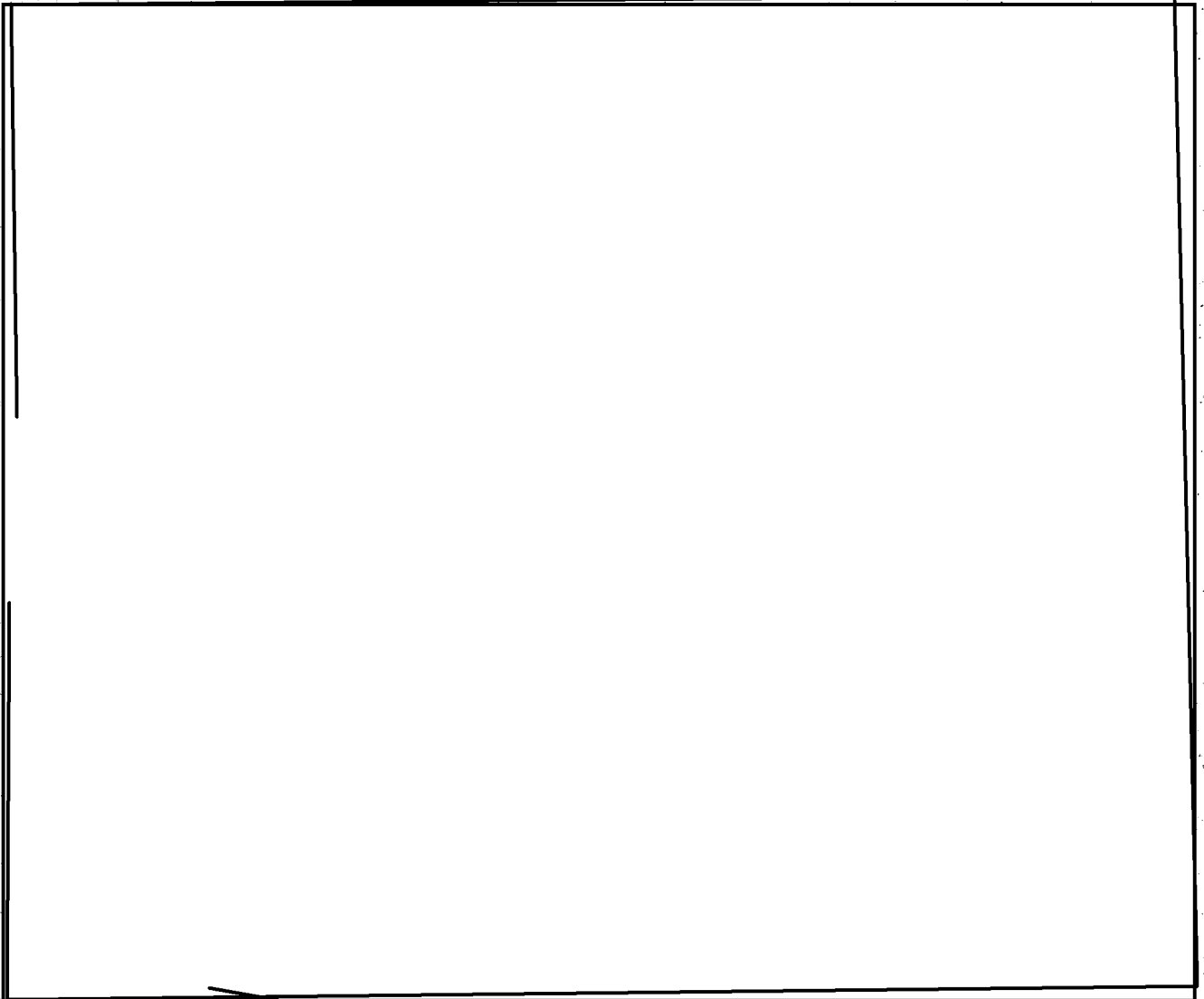
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka:  
Daniel Shays, Albert Lovell,  
Albert Allbright, Albert Ward,  
L. Vargas  
Chief,  
Ideological Trust Unit,  
Voice of America,  
Department of State,  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Washington, D. C.  
June 12, 1953


III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Referral/Consult



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult



It is noted that an investigation was recently conducted on KOHLER by the FBI in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

Referral/Consult



ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

A copy of this report has been designated for the information of the New York City Office, since WOLFE has resided and is employed in the territory that is covered by that office.

INFORMANT

Referral/Consult

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- 7 - *Adm Page*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

5704

DC

|   |                                  |  |   |
|---|----------------------------------|--|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>NEW YORK</b>   | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>4/30/53</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>4/9, 17, 20-24, 27/53</b>                          | REPORT MADE BY<br><b>WILLIAM B. HOLLOMAN</b>                    |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE<br/>Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff<br/>Central Program Services Division<br/>International Broadcasting Service<br/>United States Department of State<br/>New York, New York</b>   |                                  |  | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT<br/>EMPLOYEES</b> |
| SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:<br><br><div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>AGENCY <i>1cc photo CIA</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <i>5-21-53</i><br/>           REP'T FORW. <i>6-10-53</i><br/>           BY <i>Jaw</i></p> <p>AGENCY <i>lands photo Army</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <i>8-15-53</i><br/>           REP'T FORW. <i>9-4-53</i><br/>           BY <i>J. C. C.</i></p> <p>SEE REFERENCE<br/> <i>400:020<br/>100:002<br/>5514-53<br/>R.H. 116</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 65%;"> <p>Appointee born 1/19/96 in Brooklyn, NY. Confidential Informant NYC T-15 advised appointee has Marxist sympathies although outspoken anti-Stalin. Confidential Informant NYC T-12, of known reliability, advised WOLFE expelled from CP many years ago but still Socialist and that Socialists consider themselves the true Marxists. BENJAMIN GITLOW advised he believes WOLFE still holds to the Communist ideals and principles of MARX and LENIN. Other associates at employment and neighborhood state they consider WOLFE loyal. Files of Credit Bureau of Greater New York and records of BSSI and BCI, NYCPD, contain no information pertinent to this investigation. Confidential Communist informants of the NYC area advised they do not know the appointee. NYC Board of Election records reflect appointee registered Communist in 1933 and ALP in 1938 through 1941.</p> <p>AGENCY <i>photo USA</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <i>2-7-54</i><br/>           REP'T FORW. <i>2-21-54</i><br/>           BY <i>off</i></p> <p>AGENCY <i>CSI DIST OFF 4</i><br/>           REQ. REC'D <i>11/15/57</i><br/>           REP'T FORW. <i>11/25/57</i><br/>           BY <i>C. C. D. - TR</i></p> </div> </div> |                                  |  |   |
| REFERENCE:  |                                  | Bureau letter to New York, March 30, 1953                                      |   |
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED<br><i>[Signature]</i>  |                                  | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE<br><i>[Signature]</i>                                  |   |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>7 - Bureau<br>1 - New York (121-16979)<br><i>4 nos sent 7/24</i>   |                                  | <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>123-57991-36</p> <p>MAY 4 1953</p> </div> |   |
|   |                                  | RECORDED-99<br>INDEXED-99<br>EX-120  |   |

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NY 121-16979

DETAILS:

The title has been changed to reflect the appointee's exact position as reflected in the files of the United States Department of State, New York, New York.

123-5791-30

NY 121-16979

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*New York, New York  
April 30, 1953*

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Confidential Informant New York City T-15, of unknown reliability, on April 24, 1953, furnished the following signed statement concerning the appointee:

"I

make the following voluntary statement to William B. Holloman who has identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"During the last one year I have had the opportunity to read the scripts which have been prepared by Mr. WOLFE for use by the various language desks. Through the reading of these articles prepared by Mr. WOLFE I have come to the conclusion that Mr. WOLFE, while being an anti-Stalinist, is in sympathy with the basic Communist philosophies of Karl Marx and Nikolai Lenin. Mr. WOLFE has on several occasions placed Marx and Lenin in a favorable light, ostensibly for the purpose of attacking Stalin and his deviations from the doctrines of these men. By doing this Mr. WOLFE is in effect indicating some approval of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.

"I have noticed that Mr. WOLFE has never in any of his writings condemned the Communist philosophy as advocated by Marx and Lenin. In my opinion this indicates that although Mr. WOLFE broke with the Communist Party as an organization and is anti-Stalin, he nevertheless has not abandoned Marxism and Leninism as a political and economic philosophy. For this reason I question Mr. WOLFE's complete loyalty to the United States.

NY 121-16979

"I have read the above statement consisting of two pages and it is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

s/ \_\_\_\_\_ "

Witness:

Special Agent, FBI, 4/24/53

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The informant advised that he would appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board but not in the presence of the appointee and only if his identity were concealed.

Confidential Informant New York City T-12, of known reliability, advised that Mr. WOLFE was expelled from the Communist Party many years ago and is now very anti-Communist and is so looked upon by members of the Communist Party. The informant advised, however, that Mr. WOLFE is a Socialist and that Socialists consider themselves the true Marxist and fight the Communist Party for this reason. The informant called attention to the fact that the First and Second Internationals were Socialist Internationals and that it was they that employed the slogan "Workers of the World Unite - You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains."

The Communist Party is an organization which has been declared by the Attorney General of the United States to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Mr. BENJAMIN GITLOW, associate of ALFRED KOHLBERG Company, Incorporated, 1 West 37th Street, New York, New York, advised that Mr. WOLFE, Mr. LOVESTONE and himself (GITLOW) and others were expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 because of a difference of opinion as to the structural organization of the Communist Party regarding the policies and procedures concerning the method of selecting Communist Party officials. He advised that the above group differed with the Communist Party in that they favored democratization within the Party to the extent that the rank and file members should have some voice in the selection of Party officials rather than having no voice in the matter and accepting the officials as designated by the Comintern. Mr. GITLOW stated that he, WOLFE, LOVESTONE and others were called before the Comintern in Moscow, Russia, because of their above mentioned assertion and upon their refusal to deviate from their opinion they were expelled from the Party.

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He advised that upon returning to the United States Mr. LOVESTONE formed the Communist Party, United States of America, Opposition. He stated that this organization was devised as an instrument whereby the expelled members hoped to recruit sufficient members to enable the expelled members to be re-admitted to the Communist Party. According to Mr. GITLOW, Mr. WOLFE was an active and able assistant to Mr. LOVESTONE. He stated that the Communist Opposition and the members thereof never broke with the principles of the Communist Party and that the organization continued the Communist Party line, and carried on a violent opposition against Trotsky and his movement in the United States and affiliated with Communist Party front groups such as the "League Against War and Fascism." He stated that LOVESTONE's group, which included WOLFE, hoped to be re-admitted to the Communist Party by the Comintern on the basis of the activities of the Communist Opposition.

Mr. GITLOW advised that as late as 1934 the Communist Opposition, of which Mr. WOLFE was a member, continued to support JOSEPH STALIN and the Communist Party. According to Mr. GITLOW, Mr. WOLFE, Mr. LOVESTONE and others endorsed fully and completely the tactics and campaigns as directed by JOSEPH STALIN. He advised that they were in complete accord with the purges instituted in Russia by STALIN to erase any opposition or potential threat to STALIN's dictatorship. He added that with the exception of their views concerning the selection of officials, the LOVESTONE group, including Mr. WOLFE, were devout Communists.

Mr. GITLOW stated that the Communist Opposition in 1934 and 1935 attempted to be reinstated in the Communist Party and that JACK STACHEL acted as intermediary between the Comintern and the LOVESTONE group in the matter of re-admittance. He advised that Mr. LOVESTONE and his group, which included Mr. WOLFE, were successful in their bid for acceptance into the Communist Party but that Mr. LOVESTONE caused the offer of re-admittance to be recinded by STALIN. He advised that Mr. LOVESTONE, upon learning of the favorable decision concerning the LOVESTONE group by the Comintern, began publicizing the proposed re-entry into the Communist Party as a victory for the "Opposition" inasmuch as the LOVESTONE group continued to favor democratization of the Communist Party in respect to the selection of officials. According to Mr. GITLOW, the actions of LOVESTONE in this matter angered STALIN, who directed that LOVESTONE and his group were not to be received back into the Communist Party.

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Mr. GITLOW stated that "The Marxist" was an organ of the LOVESTONE group and that it endorsed the beliefs and doctrines of KARL MARX. He advised that works of MARX were given the same interpretation as received by the Communist Party with one exception, which concerned the view LOVESTONE fostered in giving the rank and file Communist Party member an opportunity for self expression concerning Party representatives.

Mr. GITLOW stated that during the period 1939 to 1941 Mr. WOLFE displayed a continuing adherence to the Communist doctrine inasmuch as the LOVESTONE group condoned the Russian invasion of Finland and was an active participant in the propaganda program known as "Keep America Out of War" and Mr. WOLFE in 1939 published a book entitled "Keep America Out of War." Mr. GITLOW stated that this publication followed the Communist Party line in that it espoused non-intervention in the war on the part of this country on the grounds that American participation would be of an imperialistic nature. He said that the publication reflected Mr. WOLFE's attitude as being that the United States presented a "sham" democracy and was a capitalistic government whereas Russia was reflected as a peoples government.

Mr. GITLOW stated that although a review of Mr. WOLFE's book, "Three Who Made Revolution," which was published in 1948, reflects that Mr. WOLFE is opposed to STALIN, it gives no indication whatsoever that he has relinquished his belief in Communism, Marxism or Leninism. The above book, according to Mr. GITLOW, merely reflects Mr. WOLFE's dislike for STALIN inasmuch as Mr. WOLFE feels that STALIN has not ruled to Communist Party as MARX would have done.

He stated that he has had no direct association with Mr. WOLFE or LOVESTONE since about 1933 when he, GITLOW, left the LOVESTONE group. He stated that he has no knowledge as to the association between Messrs. WOLFE and LOVESTONE subsequent to 1939 when the LOVESTONE group dissolved but prior to 1939 all facts would indicate that Messrs. WOLFE and LOVESTONE were closely associated.

He stated that when he, GITLOW, broke with the LOVESTONE group in 1933 Mr. WOLFE attacked his actions and defended the Communist Party in its entire doctrine with the exception of the representative system. At that time Mr. WOLFE, according to GITLOW, defended STALIN's policies and tactics concerning the Party and Russian dictatorship.

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Mr. GITLOW said that it is his opinion that Mr. WOLFE, although he has denounced STALIN, still holds to the ideals and principles of the Communist doctrine of MARX and LENIN. He stated that his opinion is based upon the following:

(1) Mr. WOLFE possesses much information and knowledge concerning the Communist Party which he has never offered officials of this country.

(2) Mr. WOLFE has made no declaration to the effect that a democratic government as practiced in the United States is superior to a Communist dictatorship.

(3) Mr. WOLFE has never expressed the opinion that the two party system and representative legislatures is more advantageous to the individual than a Communist regime.

(4) Mr. WOLFE is in a position to be of valuable service to this country by revealing the weaknesses of the Communist government which he has not done.

(5) Mr. WOLFE has never expressed a desire nor presented a concrete program whereby the United States would benefit in an effort to rid itself of the dangers of Communism and Communist infiltration.

(6) Mr. WOLFE has made no positive assertions which would reflect that he has relinquished his belief in Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. GITLOW declined to furnish a signed statement inasmuch as he has had no direct association with Mr. WOLFE since 1933. He advised that at the present time he would withhold his decision regarding an appearance before a Loyalty Hearing Board but that if a Loyalty Hearing is scheduled he would at that time give his decision concerning his availability as a witness.

Employments

Voice of America  
International Broadcasting Service  
250 West 57th Street  
New York, New York

Miss ROSEMARY NICHOLSON, clerk, Appointment and Records

NY 121-16979

Section, Personnel Branch, made available the appointee's personnel records which reflect that he received an appointment on September 4, 1951, as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff, Central Program Services Division, International Broadcasting Service, United States Department of State, and that he is currently employed in that position. These records reflect that the appointee was born on January 19, 1896, at Brooklyn, New York, and that he currently resides at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

These records contain no unfavorable information concerning the appointee's loyalty to the United States and Miss NICHOLSON advised that she is not acquainted with him.

Mr. PAUL M. DEAC, Rumanian Service, advised that he has had very little contact with Mr. WOLFE and his only knowledge of him is from discussions which take place at policy meetings. Mr. DEAC stated that he has noticed that in statements made at policy meetings Mr. WOLFE has seemed to be strongly anti-Stalin but not opposed to Marxism as a political philosophy. Mr. DEAC added, however, that he does not doubt the appointee's loyalty to the United States.

~~INDEXED-99~~  
Mr. LISTON M. OAK, Talks and Features Branch, advised that he has known Mr. WOLFE since about 1927. He stated that he was active in the Communist Party at approximately the same time as Mr. WOLFE and that he is familiar with Mr. WOLFE's former activities in the Communist Party. He added that since Mr. WOLFE came to work for the Voice of America in 1951 he, OAK, has had many discussions with him concerning Communism and other controversial subjects.

Mr. OAK advised that he has noticed the changes in Mr. WOLFE's thinking since 1927 which included his break with the Communist Party, his joining the Communist Party Opposition lead by JAY LOVESTONE, his abandoning his Communist ideology and becoming a Socialist and finally, in the last four or five years, renouncing his Socialist ideology also. Mr. OAK stated that judging from his conversations with Mr. WOLFE and from observations of Mr. WOLFE's work he has no doubt that Mr. WOLFE has no sympathies for Communism in any form and he added that he believes the appointee is doing a good job in fighting Communism and he has no doubt concerning the appointee's loyalty to the United States.

Mr. JOHN M. VEBBER, Chief, Central Program Services Division, advised that he has been the appointee's supervisor since

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October, 1952. He stated that because of Mr. WOLFE's background as a Communist Party member he has been alert to any indications that the appointee might still retain some sympathies toward Communism.

Mr. VEBBER stated that he has discussed Mr. WOLFE's past Communist Party activities with him and that he has from time to time discussed matters of policy concerning anti-Communist broadcasts with Mr. WOLFE. He stated that judging from his conversations with Mr. WOLFE he believes that he is not sympathetic toward Communism as practiced either in the Soviet Union or as advocated by the American Communist Party.

He stated that Mr. WOLFE has made some favorable comments concerning NIKOLI LENIN in broadcasts to listeners behind the Iron Curtain but that this was with his (VEBBER's) approval and was for the purpose of creating anti-Stalin sympathy inasmuch as the broadcast asserted that the ideals of LENIN were being betrayed by STALIN. He stated that Mr. WOLFE has told him that he believes our propaganda aims can be best served by creating dissention behind the Iron Curtain by telling the Russian people, who still have great admiration for LENIN, that STALIN has betrayed LENIN's ideals. Mr. VEBBER stated that he does not feel that Mr. WOLFE is at this time sympathetic to the principles of Communism and he considers him to be a loyal American whose interests are directed toward furthering the interests of the United States.

Mr. HOWARD HOTCHNER, Network Service Manager, advised that he has had very little contact with Mr. WOLFE and that this has only been at policy meetings. He stated that judging from Mr. WOLFE's conversations at these meetings he considers him to be anti-Communist and a loyal American.

Mr. HOWARD MAIER, Political Analyst and Commentator, advised that he has worked very closely with the appointee for about two years. He stated that Mr. WOLFE occupies the adjoining office and that he frequently consults Mr. WOLFE concerning the best approach and technique for anti-Communist propaganda. He stated that Mr. WOLFE has instituted several very effective anti-Communist propaganda programs and that he has always found him to be opposed to any form of Communist philosophy. He stated that Mr. WOLFE at times uses material which appears to be sympathetic to MARX and LENIN but that this is used as a means of psychological warfare to influence the Russian people against STALIN.



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Mr. MAIER stated that he believes Mr. WOLFE's break with Communism and Socialism is complete and that he is in no way sympathetic to any form of Communism.

Mr. STEPHEN A. BALDANZA, Chief, Latin American Division, advised that he is only slightly acquainted with Mr. WOLFE as a fellow employee and that he does not know him well enough to express an opinion concerning his loyalty to the United States.

Mr. ALFRED C. JULIA, Chief, Special Service Section, Personnel Branch, advised that he only knows Mr. WOLFE as a member of the organization and has had no contact with him. He stated that nothing has come to his attention to cause him to question Mr. WOLFE's loyalty to the United States.

INDEXED-99  
Mr. ALFRED PUHAN, Program Manager, advised that he has had several discussions with Mr. WOLFE concerning policy matters in regard to Anti-Communist propaganda and that judging from these conversations, he believes that Mr. WOLFE is in no way sympathetic to Communism and that he is in complete support of the democratic principles of the United States. NM

Residence

68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. JOSEPH BELL, superintendent, advised that Mr. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA, are occupants of apartment 5-D at this address and have resided here since about 1937 or 1938. He stated that Mr. WOLFE is a writer employed by the United States Government and that Mrs. WOLFE is a teacher employed by the City of New York. He said that Mr. WOLFE and his wife are quiet persons and reliable tenants. He stated he has no reason to believe that Mr. WOLFE is other than a loyal American.

Mr. WILLARD MEADOWS, building employee, advised that he has been acquainted with the appointee for approximately twelve years. He stated that Mr. WOLFE and his wife are quiet and orderly persons about whom he has no question concerning loyalty.

Mr. EDWIN CRONIN, apartment 5-E, advised that he has resided at the captioned address for only one year and is only slightly

NY 121-16979

acquainted with the appointee and his wife. He stated that he has never seen or heard anything which would cause him to question the loyalty of Mr. WOLFE.

Miss HARRIET WORKMAN, apartment 6-E, advised that she has known Mr. WOLFE and his wife since 1939 and that her association with them has been relatively intimate during that time. She stated that she is aware that Mr. WOLFE was formerly a member of the Communist Party and that he severed his relationship with it many years ago. She stated that Mr. WOLFE is completely in accord with the democratic principles of government as practiced in the United States and is loyal to this government. She advised that from expressions and comments offered by Mr. WOLFE during conversations it is her opinion that he is unquestionably sincere and honest in his break with Communism and his acceptance of democracy.

Miss MARY LYNCH, apartment 5-B, advised that although she has occupied this apartment since 1943 she is not acquainted with Mr. WOLFE other than to speak to him in the hallway. She stated that she has observed Mr. WOLFE and his wife to be quiet persons who keep to themselves and she has heard nothing unfavorable concerning them.

Mrs. ORELLE GEHM, apartment 5-A, advised that she has known Mr. WOLFE for three years on a casual, neighborly basis. She stated that Mr. WOLFE has never given her any reason to question his loyalty to the United States.

Mr. FRED WERTHEIMER, apartment 5-F, advised that he has known Mr. WOLFE for six years and that he has impressed him as being a person of good character and a loyal American.

#### Miscellaneous

The records of the New York City Board of Elections, Borough of Brooklyn, reflect that in 1933 BERTRAM WOLFE registered as an affiliate of the Communist Party. These records further reflect that in 1938 through 1941 the appointee registered as an affiliate of the American Labor Party. In the other years in which the appointee registered he indicated no political party preference.

Concerning the American Labor Party, the following appears in a booklet entitled "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, May 14, 1951:

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"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, page 78.)

"2. Among 'organizations that are victims of Communist domination.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pages 40 and 41.)

The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York contain no information pertinent to this investigation.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation of the New York City Police Department and the files of the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the New York City Police Department contain no additional pertinent information concerning the appointee.

Confidential Informants of known reliability who are familiar with general Communist activities in the New York City area advised that they do not know the appointee and possess no information concerning him.

NY 121-16979

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

INFORMANTS

NYC T-15



NYC T-12



contacted by SA JOHN W.  
DOOLEY on April 17, 1953.

Regular Confidential Informants mentioned in instant report are:




Contacted by SA JOHN W. DOOLEY


Contacted by SA RICHARD H.  
BLASSER

Contacted by SA RICHARD H.  
BLASSER

The following inquiries were conducted by the indicated personnel:

Bureau of Special Services and Investigation and Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York City Police Department, contacted by SA AUGUST J. MICEK.

SE  checked the records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York.

SE  reviewed the Election Records, Borough of Brooklyn.

The investigation at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, and the interview of BENJAMIN GITLOW were conducted by SA JEFFERSON W. CLARK.

*Adm Page*

b7D

b6  
b7C

ES DEPARTMENT OF  
REAU OF INVESTIG

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title:

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Report of:

Special Agent

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Date and Place: April 30, 1953, New York, New York.

This is extended copy of loyalty report  
and should not be removed from file  
for dissemination purposes. If  
information notes are made of this copy.

123-5791-36  
PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its  
contents are loaned to you by the  
FBI and are not to be distributed  
outside of agency to which loaned.  
This is an FBI investigative report  
and makes no recommendation for  
clearance or disapproval.

2-8-50

|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson  | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd    | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg   | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin  | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo   | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen   | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy   | _____ |
| Mr. Egan    | _____ |
| Mr. Gurnea  | _____ |
| Mr. Hendon  | _____ |
| Mr. Jones   | _____ |
| Mr. Mumford | _____ |
| Mr. Quinn   | _____ |
| Mr. Nease   | _____ |
| Mr. Gandy   | _____ |

5/6/53

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

5 8:00 p.m.

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. BUFILE ONE TWO THREE DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. REBULET MAR THIRTY LAST. ON INTERROGATORY DTD FEB NINE FIFTYONE WOLFE SAID HE USED PSEUDONYMS AS PEN NAMES FOR FEW YRS IN HIS WRITING AND IN EARLY DAYS OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. AMONG NAMES REMEMBERED USING WERE DANIEL SHAYS, ALBERT LOVELL, ALBERT ALLBRIGHT, ALBERT WARD AND L. VARGAS. THESE NAMES BEING ADDED TO TITLE. REGIONAL LOYALTY BD HEARING AFFORDED WOLFE ON MAR TWENTYTHREE FIFTYONE. IN VIEW OF LENGTH OF TRANSCRIPT, NY IS REQUESTED TO REVIEW SAME AT LOCAL CSC OFFICE. ADDITIONAL AGENCY CHECKS BEING CONDUCTED ON AKA'S LISTED ABOVE.

HOOD

ABH:sjr

123-5405

1-New York (123-3898) (REGULAR MAIL)

*RBN*  
*Lvs*

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EX-120

37  
*5*

26 JUL 20 1953

123-5791

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: May 14, 1953

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letters dated November 17, 1950, and April 21, 1953, transmitting the results of the investigation previously conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Additional information has been received which is set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 30, 1953, at New York, New York, four copies of which are attached.

b6  
b7C

The information in the enclosed report is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Enclosure

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_ cc: (1) Assistant Attorney General (Under separate cover)  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RHE:arh

RECORDED-99

COMM - FBI

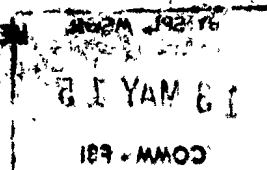
0-1 N.Y. 4/13/53 - report of 5/1/53 - difficulty in contacting  
 some pertinent sources,  
 0-1 N.Y. 4/17 - report of 5/1/53 - difficulty experienced  
 in contacting fellow employees,  
 0-1 WFO 4/17 - about 4/29/53 - Special Inquiry Work  
 0-1 N.Y. 5/1 - recd report 5/1/53  
 0-1 WFO 5/12 - about 5/19 - case requiring attention.  
 Investigation being expedited  
 0-1 N.Y. 5/12 - ROC antel 5/18/53  
 0-1 WFO 5/21 - in dispatch

MAY 15 11 03 AM '53

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM





# F.B.I. RADIO ROOM

DECODED COPY

777 11-1

FROM NEW YORK

5-18-53

NR 181355

10:46 AM

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. RE WFO AIRTEL  
MAY 6, 1953. CSC, NYC, ADVISES THEY HAVE NO FILE ON  
BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE. NYO FILES CONTAIN NO INFO RE  
ADDITIONAL AKAS SET OUT IN REFERENCED WFO AIRTEL.

RECEIVED: 5-18-53

10:51 AM

KH

RECORDED-99

128-5791-39

201 215  
26 JUL 20 1953

JUN 24 1953

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson     | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd       | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols    | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont    | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr       | _____ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room     | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy     | _____ |

6-4-53

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

1 PM

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, LGE. BUFILE ONE TWENTYTHREE  
DASH FIVE SEVEN NINE ONE. REBUTEL JUNE THREE LAST. REPORT  
IN DICTATION, TRANSCRIPTION BEING EXPEDITED.

HOOD

*Handwritten:* 11-1

ABH:EAK

123-5405

RECEIVED SECTION

JUN 4 3 18 PM '53

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EX-120

123-5791-

JUN 24 1953

40

*Handwritten initials:* JAK

*Handwritten:* RBH

26 JUL 20 1953

SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405)

June 12, 1953

Director, FBI (123-5791)

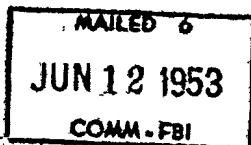
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
State  
SGE

Buded long past. Surep at once. Advise when  
urep will reach Bureau.

RHE:je

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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EX-120

123-5791-41  
JUN 21 1953

26 JUL 20 1953

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

6-18-59

8 P

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, SGE. BUFILE 123-5791. REBULET

JUNE 12 LAST. REFER WFO REPT DATED JUNE 12 LAST.

HOOD

ABH:AB

123-5405

RBH  
38

RECORDED 99

EX-120

123-5791-47

JUN 21 1959

26 JUL 2019

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

0-9a

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. June 3, 1953

Transmit the following message to: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405) AIR TEL

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, STATE, SGE. BUDED LONG PAST. EXPIDITE  
TRANSCRIPTION OF URREP. ADVISE WHEN URREP WILL REACH BUREAU.

HOOVER

123-5791

RHE:jps

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
JUN 3 1953  
MAILED 30

RECORDED-99

EX-120

123-5791-43

26 JUL 20 1953

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Office N

um • UN

S GOVERNMENT

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

DATE: May 14, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
Department of State  
New York, New York  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

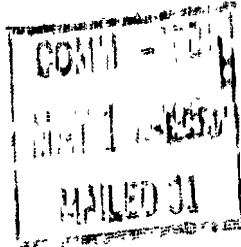
Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated November 17, 1950, furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835. These reports were furnished for information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to the Department in this case.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Zoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

123-5791  
Enclosures (2)

RHE:arh



RECORDED-99

EX-120

26 JUL 20 1953

Office Memorandum

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 31, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Gearty ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Sizoo ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

Congressman Fred Busbey (R., Illinois) called to advise that there are a lot of people who are representing that Bertram David Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff, Voice of America, was an outstanding foe against the Communists; that he, Busbey, after thorough investigation, has conclusively established that Wolfe is anti-Stalinist, but is a dyed-in-the-wool Communist at heart. Busbey wondered if Wolfe had ever come to the Bureau and made a complete statement about his activities.

I told Busbey that although I had not made a complete check of our files, I did recall that back in 1937 our Agents sought to interview Wolfe and he was not at all cooperative in furnishing information. When asked about certain activities regarding the Communist Party school which he ran, Wolfe just referred to the catalogue and printed literature, and it was the general conclusion of the Agents after interviewing Wolfe that he was uncooperative; that throughout the interview he kept talking about how valuable his time was and he could not talk about details that occurred many years ago.

Wolfe was the subject of a loyalty investigation. There have been recurrent complaints about him. He followed Jay Lovestone out of the Party in the early '30's. People such as Ben Gitlow feel that Wolfe retains his Marxist and Leninist ideology, but is opposed to Stalin.

cc: Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

RECORDED - 78

EX-120

123-5791-45

25 AUG 24 1953

RECORDED

48  
 C. E. WILSON  
 INT. SEC.

RECORDED-29

SAC, New York (121-16979)

August 19, 1953

Director, FBI (123-5791)

BORTHAM DAVID WOLFE  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
U. S. Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT - INFORMATION  
(Bufile 9-3-53)

Charles M. Noone, Acting Chief, Office of Security,  
U. S. Information Agency, Washington, D. C., has requested  
additional investigation in a letter which reads as follows:

"The report of Special Agent [redacted]  
dated April 30, 1953, at New York City in the above-captioned  
case sets forth a signed statement of Informant T-15, wherein  
the informant states that on the basis of his review of scripts  
prepared by WOLFE, the informant has come to the conclusion  
that WOLFE, while being an anti-Stalinist, is in sympathy with  
the basic philosophies of Karl Marx and Nikolai Lenin.

"Congressman Fred L. Busby of Illinois made a speech  
in the House of Representatives on August 3, wherein he questions  
WOLFE's continued employment with the International Broadcasting  
Service, which is now part of the United States Information  
Agency. This office is preparing a reply to Congressman Busby  
and in this connection is anxious to receive additional infor-  
mation from Confidential Informant New York City T-15.

"I would appreciate it if you would determine whether  
T-15 would consent to being interviewed by representatives of  
this office. If the informant is not agreeable to such an  
interview I would appreciate it if you would ask T-15 to identify  
the scripts prepared by WOLFE and cited by the informant as the  
basis for his conclusion regarding WOLFE's present sympathies."

The New York Office should handle the request made  
by the U. S. Information Agency. (T-15- [redacted])

The WFO should interview Paul Crouch who has stated  
that Bortham David Wolfe is definitely known to him to be out  
of the Communist Party at the present time. (61-6050)

cc: (2) Washington Field (123-5405)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 6

AUG 20 1953

COMM - FBI

RHE:arh  
25 OCT 14 1953



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RECEIVED MAIL ROOM  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
AUG 20 11:02 AM '53

O.I. *James*

1. NJO 9-17-53

2. NJO 9-9-53

*ex dictatus.*

*refer NJO tel 9-2-53*

FBI STAT SECT'N

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RECORDED-50

pose they are GS-8's, at \$75 a week take-home pay. Now, where do they stand? It seems to me that far too many of you folks on the other side of the aisle just love to kick around the little people, the \$75 or even \$100 a week people who have families to support. But you do not kick around big business, do you?

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia, a distinguished member of the committee.

Mr. GARY. Is it not true the President's loyalty program gives them ample opportunity to get rid of any subversives?

Mr. ROONEY. Of course it does. A subversive may be suspended immediately.

Mr. MILLER of California. Just last week George M. Moore, member of the Civil Service Commission and former chief counsel of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service made a speech to the American Federation of Government Employees in which he bragged that one of the accomplishments of this administration was that they had removed the threat of summary firing held over the heads of Federal employees. He had reference to the action taken by this House in striking out of the bill appropriating funds for the State, Justice, and Commerce Departments such a provision.

Mr. ROONEY. On Wednesday last that nonsense was called to the attention of the House in the following remarks of the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. Moss):

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR., OF CALIFORNIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1953

Mr. Moss. Mr. Speaker, a recent speech made by a member of the Federal Civil Service Commission before the American Federation of Government Employees has been called to my attention. The Civil Service Commissioner listed what he regarded as the 15 achievements of the new administration in the Federal civil-service field.

Parts of the speech were extremely misleading. One particularly erroneous statement made by the Civil Service Commissioner was the claim that the new administration was responsible for the removal of the "arbitrary dismissal authority which had hung over the heads of Federal employees for 3 years in the Department of Commerce and for 6 years in the Department of State."

To correct the mistaken impression held by a member of the supposedly nonpartisan Civil Service Commission—an impression that the administration and the majority party in Congress were responsible for this change—I would like to review the facts.

The House Appropriations Committee had attached riders to an appropriation bill continuing arbitrary dismissal authority in the Departments of State and Commerce and extending the dismissal authority to the Department of Justice. On May 5, 1953, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Rooney), a Democrat, moved to strike out the appropriation bill riders granting the heads of the Departments of State, Commerce, and Justice arbitrary dismissal power.

The motion by Mr. Rooney was adopted by a vote of 181 to 163. There were 153 Democrats voting for the motion and 8 opposing it. Only 27 Republicans supported the motion while 160 voted against it.

The authority for the Departments of State, Commerce, and Justice to dismiss employees without regard to civil-service rights or vet-

erans' preference was removed on a motion initiated by a Democrat and the motion was successful only because of Democratic votes. Republicans, on the other hand, opposed it by nearly 6 to 1.

The removal of the arbitrary dismissal authority was, obviously, neither initiated by the new administration nor supported by the members of its party in Congress.

I would like to point out that members of the Civil Service Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee have taken steps to initiate an impartial investigation of the effects of the new administration's civil-service policies. When this investigation is completed, I am sure we will have a much more objective analysis of the civil-service picture than that painted by the member of the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. MILLER of California. I was wondering whether Mr. Moore, now spokesman for the administration in the field of civil service will not have a very red face if this proposal goes through.

Mr. ROONEY. He should. Up to this moment I have not heard of anyone from the United States Civil Service Commission or any part of the Eisenhower administration trying to protect the rights of these little people involved in this matter. The fact is, it is the Eisenhower administration that demands the right to indiscriminately, without notice or hearing, fire these career civil-service employees all the way down to a \$75 a week GS-7. If they can get away with this, perhaps they can get away with the same thing in our post offices, Navy yards, Army bases, Veterans' Administration facilities and other Government establishments. This would work a precedent and I do trust you will defeat the motion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Taber) to recede and concur.

Mr. Speaker, I shall make every possible parliamentary effort to put everyone on record on this vote.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Busbey).

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, in an address delivered in this Chamber just a little over a year ago, I called attention to the employment on the Voice of America staff of Bertram D. Wolfe, one of America's foremost Marxian Communist writers and agitationists, and a founder and long-time member of the American Communist Party, and who is still retained at a salary in excess of \$11,000 per year.

I quoted passages from his pro-Communist booklet, *What Is the Communist Opposition?* authored in 1933, verifying his continued participation in the Communist conspiracy against his own native country long after his expulsion from the official party organization in 1929. I call attention today to his continuing loyalty to the principles of Marxism.

Apparently my remarks of a year ago went unheeded, or their significance was not grasped by the Voice and the State Department leadership, for Bertram Wolfe, the lifelong Marxian Communist and propagandist of the Communist

movement, is still employed in the Voice of America. And, of all things, this Marxian disciple of proletarian dictatorship, this enemy of a free society and republican form of government, has been employed in the State Department these past 3 years as an Ideologist. He is Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, a key post in the Voice.

I believe that even some of my more liberal colleagues will agree with me that Mr. Wolfe's ideology, as expressed in the following passages from his 1933 *Opposition* booklet, is contrary to the accepted laws and traditions of this Nation:

We Communists aim to abolish the anarchistic, planless, capitalistic mode of production and substitute a planned society; to abolish private property in the means of production and substitute ownership of the means of production by the producers as social property.

How long will it take? All we can answer to such queries is: Come in and help us and the fight will be shorter . . . If you are truly a Communist . . . and if you are not content to ignore and condone the errors of our party just for the sake of being a card holder . . . you will join with us for the unification of the party and the Communist International for the future of the party and . . . the defeat of the most powerful ruling class on the face of the earth.

And, I wonder how the following idea from one of Wolfe's 1940 booklets strikes my esteemed colleagues from the great agricultural areas of this country:

Every Socialist economic reform on the land must obviously begin with large and medium land ownership. There the property right must first of all be turned over to the nation, or to the state, which, with a Socialist government, amounts to the same thing.

For those many millions of us who thought that the great human sacrifices and financial outlays for two World Wars in Europe were for the preservation of democratic Christian principles, it will come as a shock, I am sure to learn that the Republican State Department is sponsoring an Ideologist who sees the Socialist movement as the only hopeful alternative to totalitarianism. Wolfe expounded on this Marxian solution to world problems in an article in the September 1947 issue of *American Mercury*.

How ironic it is that for the past 5 years we have lent our moral and economic support to the democratic governments in European countries, while snuggling to our bosom an Ideologist whose every act and utterance has been synonymous with those of the Communist-Socialist forces obstructing American and native democratic forces in those countries.

Mr. Speaker, we are dealing with an enemy which is both within and outside our society. The Russian Communist imperialist manifestation of mother communism-socialism is the readily discernible outside enemy. Wolfe and his democratic communism-socialism is the enemy within which enjoys the protection of the laws and freedoms of our society while plotting the destruction of that society. Their loyalty is to a materialist philosophy. They have no loyalty to nation or the established order.

and \$70 million for school allotments. That is what we agreed to; yes.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ROONEY).

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday last the House and Senate conferees on this supplemental appropriation bill met for a total of 8 hours in order to try to resolve the many amendments in disagreement between the two Houses. After 8 hours of actual conference time, and I am not counting the time that was taken out to get a hasty bite to eat along about the early evening, the matters before the conference were duly and finally resolved late that night and a conference report reduced to writing and signed by the conferees.

The Senate had added this provision to the bill, known as amendment 16 in disagreement:

*Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to said agency.*

At the conclusion of those 8 hours, it was agreed by both the conferees on the part of the other body and the conferees on the part of the House that this vicious provision would be stricken from the bill. The next day, Saturday, the conferees on the part of the House brought the conference report back here for your consideration. It was adopted by the House. Thereupon the Member of the other body who acted as chairman of the conference during these strenuous 8 hours and who signed his name to this report—and I do not mean the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. BRIDGES)—brought it to the floor of the other body and promptly recommended that it be recommitted, and recommitted primarily with regard to this provision, the striking of which had been agreed upon in writing the night before.

Saturday night until a late hour the conferees again met and the majority agreed upon insertion of the following language over the objections of the minority members. The language or provision which the gentleman from New York (Mr. TABER) is soon going to offer you for your consideration in a motion to recede and concur and which vitally concerns the little fellows, the career people, the low-paid career civil-service employees in the information program—and this is a big operation; there are 11,000 employees—reads as follows:

*Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency, created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953, may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to or employed by said Agency, but this authority shall not be applicable to any person entitled to veterans' preference for Federal Government employment.*

I must say again, my good friend the gentleman from New York (Mr. TABER), the chairman of the full House Committee on Appropriations, once in a while uses very good judgment. He used good judgment in this instance when, at his suggestion, and acquiesced in by the minority members of the House conferees, war veterans were exempted from this indiscriminate firing power.

But what would this provision do? It would permit the Director of the United States Information Agency, a man just out of big business and into Government only 2 days, to summarily fire career Government employees who make how much a week? The gentleman from New York (Mr. TABER) mentioned the figure of \$4,955. He said:

That grade carries a salary of \$4,955. Those who draw that much or below would not be affected.

But he took the top level for a GS-7 employee, not the \$4,205 stage of a GS-7. The first stage of a GS-8 is only \$4,620 per annum.

Mr. TABER. It applies only to those above GS-7 so that the grade GS-7 is a proper grade to apply or to use.

Mr. ROONEY. A GS-8 employee who is one of employees affected by this provision earns as low as \$4,620 a year. That I submit is \$88 a week gross salary and about \$75 a week take-home pay in these days of high prices. So in order to give carte blanche to this new high and mighty administrator who came up here on the Hill and has been lobbying round the back doors here for 2 days on behalf of this vicious amendment, this gentleman from big business, and chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting Corp., who is now going to run or ruin this program and who caused the Senator from Michigan (Mr. FRACUSON), the chairman of the conference committee, to reverse himself overnight completely, just like that, the Republican conferees are willing to throw the merit system out the window. This does not by any means apply to every one of the membership on that side of the aisle, however, because I have always respected our colleague, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. REES) for his interest in civil-service employees and the merit system.

Over the weekend as I was considering what I might say to the House on this issue today, I thought of certain arguments in behalf of the career civil servants and in opposition to this ruthless firing rider. But when this morning I read the column in today's Washington Daily News by John Cramer, the column entitled "9 to 4:30," I decided to forego some of my ideas and quote some of Mr. Cramer's remarks with regard to what the Republicans are doing to the career civil-service employee. Listen to this from his article:

Starting now, I'm changing my approach to the matter of Government employee gripes.

I'm changing it because I've decided, after long thinking, that a few too many able and conscientious Federal career employees are being shoved around pretty badly as the Republicans, after 20 years, try to learn again what it means to run a government.

How would you like to be a career, non-veteran Government employee taking home \$75 or \$100 a week and have the bread and butter taken out of your and your family's mouth?

Further on, Mr. Cramer points out:

The Republicans should realize, too, (but apparently they don't), that if there is to be a merit system in Government there also must be a career system—a well-marked promotion ladder to advancement and a fuller career.

They should realize (but they don't) that the one sure way to destroy this ladder is to yield to the pressure of political buzzards who covet roosts on its better rungs.

Is not that what is happening here today? You want to throw out the career employees and put in your own or Mr. Treibert's friends. It is the old vicious spoils system all over again.

In his conclusion Mr. Cramer says:

Eventually, I'm sure, the new bosses will learn to run a merit system at least as clean as those of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

As of now, they aren't. And they're hurting themselves more than anyone.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield.

Mr. BOW. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the minority in both the House and the other body were opposed to this amendment?

Mr. ROONEY. I said or meant to say the minority Members of the House and certain Members of the minority of the other body.

Mr. BOW. But not all of the minority of the other body?

Mr. ROONEY. No, I could not say that, of course.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York, who has always taken a keen interest in the rights of career civil-service employees and a merit system rather than a spoils system.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the gentleman. I have fought to safeguard Government employees' interests consistent with the national interest. What worries me is that I understand there has been criticism of some top employees in the IIA, and the argument is that they cannot be gotten out to improve the Voice of America service. Though the move from New York will undoubtedly free some positions, I like to see major personnel changes handled by specific legislation or Executive orders, and not on appropriation bill riders. Can the gentleman enlighten us on that?

Mr. ROONEY. Why, if there are employees at any level and they are not faithfully doing their job, all that needs to be done is to bring proper charges against them and try them before the Civil Service Commission. That is the accepted method of removal of career civil-service employees, after notice of the charges and a fair hearing. You have employees engaged in this program who have invested their whole future in it, who have families to support. Sup-

of things. Thus, they can commit fraud, perjury, and espionage without qualm.

Bertram Wolfe's account of his background in the State Department's Biographic Register is a typical example of Communist indirection and misrepresentation, to say nothing of deliberate, willful fraud. If the Department officials based their estimate of him on this fragmentary sketch of his background, it is understandable that they, and others of his backers, would have no knowledge of his Communist career before and after 1929.

No mention is made of the fact that he helped found the American Communist Party in 1919, and that during the next 10 years, under various aliases, he participated in this Soviet-directed conspiracy as an official and chief propagandist. The only hint of this in the Register is a reference to his association "with a political party from 1928-29."

Mr. Wolfe also avoids mention of his connection with a Communist splinter party after 1929.

Now, why is it that Wolfe would willfully misrepresent his background in the Register?

The answer is that Wolfe, in recent years, has been nurturing the legend that he is an ex-Communist and anti-Communist. This legend has been his chief stock-in-trade in the last 12 or 13 years, and it has been his entree into high places inside and outside of Government.

It is understandable that Wolfe would omit from the Register any reference to his Communist Party and subversive activities during the 1919-to-1929 period. They, alone, are enough to exclude him from employment in Government. They are also the key to his post-1929 Communist activities, which he has sought to disguise as anti-Communist.

A true account of his career would not only dispel the legend, but would reveal a record of unbroken Communist devotion and activity subsequent to 1919.

Let us look at the record. Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the founders of the first organized Communist Party in the United States. This was in 1919. I shall not attempt to burden the record with a history of that party's conspiracy during the first 10 years of its existence, but I think every Member of Congress should familiarize himself with that historic period of communism in America. There was constant intriguing, over a period of 10 years, by the party leadership for control, with Moscow making the final decision. Shortly after its formation, the American Communist Party petitioned for admission to the Communist International, and was admitted. Thereafter, most of the leaders, including Wolfe, made their pilgrimages to Moscow and supplicated themselves before the throne of Marxism, pleading their petition for leadership and dictatorship of the Communist movement in the United States. How many such trips Wolfe made, only he can tell. Incidentally, I wonder if he always traveled under his true name.

The expulsion of Leon Trotsky from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was followed by the ousting of

Trotsky followers from the Communist Party in the United States in 1928. This only added fuel to the fire of discontent that had ravaged the American Communists for 9 long years. But the following year, 1929, Stalin made the decision that, in order that a Communist Party might be able to operate in the United States, all dissidents must go. In one fell swoop, the followers of Jay Lovestone, including Wolfe, were cast out. Stalin put Earl Browder in charge, and, to the day of his death, Stalin ruled the American Communist Party with an iron hand.

After his expulsion, Lovestone, with Wolfe and others, organized another Communist Party, and called it the Communist Party of America—Majority—later changed to Communist Party of America—Opposition. Most all splinter groups die a slow death, and the Lovestone group, after several changes in name, lasted until 1940 or 1941. How long Wolfe remained with Lovestone, I do not know. But I do know that Wolfe's participation in the Lovestone Communist Opposition Party is well documented by his own writings through 1937, and that his writings throughout the post-1929 period reflect the bitterness which he and Lovestone felt toward the man who brought about their ouster from the only organized group recognized by Moscow.

Let us refer once more to statements made by Wolfe in his 1933 booklet, *What Is the Communist Opposition?* in which, as a spokesman, he outlined the creed and aims of the "oppositionists" and described the circumstances of their separation from the official party:

We did not choose expulsion. Too many of the best years of our lives went into the building of the Communist Party: It means too much to accept expulsion lightly . . . we fight for readmission . . . we also fight for the readmission of the Trotskyite Opposition.

The Communist Party of the United States (Opposition) is a part of the Communist movement of the United States and of the International Communist movement.

Its differences with the official leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International are not differences of basic principles and fundamental aims.

In other words, Wolfe's differences, and those of the opposition, with the official leadership were as Whittaker Chambers had described them: "Merely quarrels over a road map by people all of whom were in a hurry to get to the same place; their differences were with Stalin and not with the evils of communism."

Thus, Wolfe, in his own 1933 account of the conspiracy, continues to identify himself with the Communist Party and the Communist movement in the United States.

Yet, the Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, on July 28, 1952, wrote a Member of the United States Senate, as follows:

Bertram D. Wolfe is an ex-Communist who, since 1929, has been devoting his life to an exposé of communism in this country.

Does the record show that Wolfe has devoted his life, since 1929, to exposing communism in this country? I think

not. I seriously doubt that he has given the Department of Justice the benefit of his vast knowledge of this foreign conspiracy. I have searched the reports of the Dies committee and the present Committee on Un-American Activities, and have failed to find any record of any effort on his part to expose communism in America. He has been promoting communism and Communist philosophy in this country and throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, for those, including State Department and Information Program officials, who wish to go along with the fiction that Bertram Wolfe was an ex-Communist after 1929, who had renounced communism and disassociated himself from Communist activities, it may come as somewhat of a surprise that he proposed in 1936 a Communist-Socialist coalition party, with Tom Mooney—the old radical Communist-Socialist who was then doing time in a California prison for engineering a fatal bombing in that State in 1916—as its candidate for President. In a news story published in the New York Times of February 2, 1936, Wolfe, as spokesman for the Communist Party of the United States—Opposition—was quoted as appealing "for the Communist and Socialist Parties to brush aside all petty concerns of a partisan and factional character, in order to advance the cause of a united political action."

It would unite the class-conscious sections of the working class in a common cause and task.

... a United Labor ticket with Tom Mooney at the head would reach deep into every corner of the American labor movement.

Mr. Speaker, and where do you think this key figure in our ideological warfare program of the Voice of America made this announcement? I am now reading from the same article in the New York Times of February 2, 1936:

Announcement of the proposed third party was made by Bertram D. Wolfe at the Communist Opposition Headquarters, 51 West 14th Street.

Keep in mind, now, that this date was 7 years after the date fixed by the Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State as the year of Wolfe's departure from the Communist Party. Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder this program, to date, has been a failure?

Mr. Speaker, one can arrive at any one of three conclusions regarding the statement of this official in the State Department: First, that the official is an ignoramus, wholly and totally unqualified to hold any position in the Government service that requires his opinion on matters of loyalty; second, that he deliberately or impulsively misrepresented the true facts concerning Wolfe; or, third, that he is doing his bit to cover up a State Department employee, who, under any reasonable standard of loyalty, should be removed from the Government service.

Only the grossest sort of administrative incompetence, or fraud, or perjury could permit the entry of Bertram Wolfe into a Government position of trust, and keep him there. I have in hand infor-

mation which indicates that all three figured in the employment and retention of Mr. Wolfe in the Voice of America. I intend to submit this record to the Committee on Un-American Activities, with a request that Bertram Wolfe and those responsible for his employment be called before the committee for a full airing of the circumstances of the entry of this former Communist official into our information program, and to ascertain the reasons for retaining him, despite revelations of his lifelong Marxism.

If, as I suspect, fraud, or possibly perjury, has been committed, we should know how it could escape the notice of Wolfe's superiors, and be advised of the investigative processes which attended his entry into Government service. I am almost certain that a study of his case will provide not only a clue to past deficiencies, but also a guide for building a stronger and more effective information program, as well as a strong loyalty and security program.

The trouble has been, it seems, that no one in the State Department or our superduper Central Intelligence Agency can recognize that Stalin, or Russian Communist imperialism, is simply the logical manifestation of Marxian communism. One faction, the Russian-dominated faction, operating from a state dictatorship in the Kremlin, is advancing the age-old Russian imperialist aims behind a facade of Communist dogma, while the other faction, the orthodox Marxists like Wolfe, Lovestone, and other opposition Communists, are trying to regain the political control of communism for the achievement of national and international Marxian class dictatorships.

In recognizing only the Russian manifestation of the Communist conspiracy, our Government agencies are dealing only with the effects of communism. They are not scratching the surface of the underlying Communist conspiracy which paves the way for the Russian manifestation.

To give another example of Bertram Wolfe's continued Marxist conspiracy long after he was supposed to have embarked on an anti-Communist career after 1929, let us refer to another of his writings:

In 1937, after a stint as a correspondent covering the Spanish Civil War, Wolfe wrote a book for the weekly organ of the Independent Communist Labor League, Workers' Age, entitled, "Civil War in Spain." It was essentially a treatise on the orthodox Marxist opposition to the Soviet totalitarian faction of the Spanish Communists. Wolfe once again was crusading for the true Communists of Spain who, according to him, were being belabored by both the Russians and, what he termed "so-called democratic nations of England, France, and the United States" in support of the Spanish Republic forces.

In the introduction to the 1937 book, Will Herberg writes of Wolfe as follows:

These chapters were written intermittently over a period of 7 months as articles for Workers' Age. . . . It is "living marxism at its best." Of such a work Bertram Wolfe is peculiarly fitted to be the author.

It is utterly impossible for the present administration ever to develop a practical, efficient, and effective propaganda campaign as long as it retains on the payroll of the State Department or the International Information Program a single one of the "opposition" Communists who were inherited from the Truman administration, which they found so exceedingly easy to infiltrate.

While the policymaking people in the executive branch of our Government not only know, but admit, the failure of the Voice program, as it has been and is being administered at present, I have no hesitancy in stating, from the knowledge I have gained over a period of 32 years spent in fighting communism, that it will never be successful until they are able to recognize Stalin Communists and "opposition" Communists, like Tito, as simply political adversaries in the Communist world.

Tito is an "opposition" Communist, and is fighting with all his might the group which is now in control of the Kremlin. But, wait and see what happens if the "opposition" Communists are successful in the present struggle for power in Russia. You will find that Tito's affection for the West will vanish in a hurry, and he will fight to become the Premier in the Kremlin in opposition to all the countries of the free world.

The newspapers of Friday, July 31, 1953, carry a story to the effect that Mr. Theodore C. Streibert has been nominated by President Eisenhower as director of the reorganized United States Information Agency. The article also states that Mr. Streibert is a former radio executive, and has been serving in Germany recently as a consultant on public affairs to the American High Commissioner.

While serving in Germany, Mr. Streibert had a wonderful opportunity to observe the methods and techniques of "opposition" Communists. Nowhere in our International Information Service are the "opposition" Communists so plentiful, or so well entrenched, as in Germany.

While serving in Germany, Mr. Streibert must have seen how our propaganda facilities there, the largest and most expensive of any such United States facilities in the world, failed utterly to exploit the East German demand for freedom which was culminated last June 16-18 in the riots of East Berlin. Mr. Streibert must know that Radio RIAS, a station which won world applause in the days of the blockade of Berlin, has deteriorated into a voice of the West German Socialists, and is under the domination of the German Socialist Party and the anti-anti-Communists.

Mr. Streibert must have met the German public affairs staff here in Washington, former German citizens with no background nor experience whatever in public affairs. He must have wondered why officials here and in Berlin obeyed a mysterious order to deny to the Voice of America, to RIAS, and to the American newspaper in Germany the right to announce that the Presidential food packages being sent to the starving East Germans were coming from America.

These events, following closely one upon another, cannot all be accidental. As the Scripps-Howard newspapers pointed out on the 31st of July:

Our staid old State Department is suspect because it is answering all questions with doubletalk. . . . Yes, it's the same old State Department. Just older, and a little more senile.

On July 29 and 30, that same newspaper was carrying the story, filed by its foreign correspondent in Berlin, to the effect that West Berliners and East Berliners alike were wondering why our information agencies made no mention of the fact that this great humanitarian effort was being played down; the effect indeed destroyed. Can it be that Mr. Wolfe's influence extends beyond the Voice of America; actually extends into the very policy-making apparatus of the Department of State? Can it be that other Marxian ideologists and apologists have managed to remain in their key posts, out-manuevering and out-playing the responsible representatives of this administration who are pledged to the elimination of communism in all Government offices?

Just recently President Eisenhower brought into Government a man of good character and good reputation as an educator, and placed him in charge of the International Information Program under which the Voice operates. What happened? The "opposition" Communists immediately sold Mr. Robert T. Johnson on the idea that they were exposing and fighting communism because they were so violently opposed to everything and anything that Stalin stood for and did. In other words, Dr. Johnson was taken in. I do not want these remarks to be construed as impugning, in any way, Dr. Johnson's reputation in the field in which he has worked and achieved success. The truth of the matter is that Dr. Johnson was given a job in a field in which he had no previous experience, and which he was not qualified to administer.

Why are we so gullible? Shall we idly sit by and watch these Marxist ideologists infiltrate our Government agencies until they become so strong we can do nothing about it? As far as I am concerned, there is no place in our Government service for Bertram D. Wolfe or persons like him. Let's get the Wolfes and other negativists out of our Government agencies. When this is done, it will probably be found that more and better work can be accomplished.

The authority which has recently been vested in the new head of the Information Agency must be forcefully exercised. Communist sympathizers, such as Bertram D. Wolfe of the Voice of America and of the Public Affairs Staff of the German Division in the Department of State, must be removed from their positions of influence and replaced by people who are dedicated to the United States, to the principle of free enterprise, and to the ideal of freedom for all men.

No amount of excuses, no amount of apology can erase these vital facts from the record:

First. The foreign policy and information program of the United States



in the post-World War II era has failed, both in Asia and Europe.

Second. The people responsible for that failure are still in positions of authority and are making policy.

Third. Many of the people concerned are identified Communists whose only reason for participating in this struggle with the Communist conspiracy is that they are in opposition to the present regime in the Soviet Union.

Fourth. The series of errors in public affairs, particularly in Europe and most particularly in Germany, cannot have been accidental and must not be increased by permitting those responsible for the errors to continue in the policy-making positions.

With this in mind, the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6200) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, that this body has presently under consideration, has granted the Director of the United States Information Agency complete authority to terminate the employment of any persons above the grade of GS-7, except a war veteran; transferred to USIA prior to January 1, 1954.

Furthermore, in directing the transfer of the international broadcasting service operations to Washington, Congress has provided the new director the opportunity for on-the-scene supervision of the Voice.

If Mr. Strelbert is well informed, he will immediately clean out the entire group of pro-Communists and "opposition" Communists who have had more-or-less complete control of our 300,000-watt radio station in Berlin, known as RIAS.

If Mr. Strelbert is well enough informed on the subject of communism, so that he can recognize "opposition" Communists, as well as Stalin Communists, he should be in a position to make a real contribution by correcting the fundamental and basic trouble in our information program.

Mr. Strelbert, like his predecessor, will start off with two strikes against him, and be hamstrung in his efforts, unless he starts operating with a new group of assistants who are completely devoted to the cause of democracy and the American way of life.

The public opinion of the United States was strong enough in November of 1952 to bring about a change in the national government. That same public which demanded the change then, expects it now. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that, in answer to that demand, we suggest a slogan for the new director of the international information program. That slogan should be the same one which Gen. George Washington published in his order of the day, the night before crossing the Delaware: "Put only Americans on guard tonight."

(Mr. BUSBEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield just this time as he may desire to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. ELLSWORTH).

(Mr. ELLSWORTH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to say that the question that the gentleman from New York (Mr. ROONEY) was discussing mostly, the right to fire, does not come up in the conference report, but will come up on a motion to agree to a Senate amendment with an amendment. That will be taken up later.

I move the previous question, Mr. Speaker.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 13: Page 9, line 6, insert "Provided further, That funds made available under the head 'International Information and Educational Activities' in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, and the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, for purchase, rent, construction and improvement of facilities for radio transmission and reception shall be available for such purposes relating to any radio facilities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State and for acquisition of quarters and necessary facilities for personnel required for operation of such facilities at remote locations outside the continental limits of the United States by purchase, construction, and alterations, and for initial furnishing of such quarters."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert "": *Provided further, That not to exceed \$2 million of the funds made available under the head "International Information and Educational Activities" in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, and the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, for purchase, rent, construction and improvement of facilities for radio transmission and reception shall be available for such purposes relating to such radio facilities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State.*

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 16: Page 10, line 9, insert "": *Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person transferred to said agency.*

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move to recede and concur with an amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert "": *Provided further, That, until January 1, 1954, notwithstanding the provisions*

of any other law, the Director of the United States Information Agency created pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 may terminate the employment of any person above the grade of GS-7 transferred to or employed by said Agency but this authority shall not be applicable to any person entitled to veteran's preference for Federal Government employment."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROONEY) there were—ayes 63, noes 35.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker I object to the vote on the ground there is not a quorum present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 147, nays 139, not voting 145, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 123]

#### YEAS—147

|                |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Adair          | Devereux       | Merrill        |
| Allen, Calif.  | D'Ewart        | Morrow         |
| Allen, Ill.    | Dondero        | Muller, Md.    |
| Andersen       | Dorn, N. Y.    | Mumma          |
| H. Carl        | Elsworth       | Neal           |
| Andresen       | Fenton         | Nicholson      |
| August H.      | Frelinghuysen  | O'Hara, Minn.  |
| Arends         | Gavin          | O'Konski       |
| Auchincloss    | George         | Ostertag       |
| Baker          | Goodwin        | Pillion        |
| Bates          | Graham         | Poff           |
| Beamer         | Gross          | Prouty         |
| Bender         | Gwynn          | Radwan         |
| Bennett, Mich. | Halleck        | Ray            |
| Bentley        | Harden         | Reece, Tenn.   |
| Berry          | Harrison, Neb. | Reed, N. Y.    |
| Betts          | Harrison, Wyo. | Rhodes, Ariz.  |
| Bishop         | Harvey         | Sadiak         |
| Bolton         | Heseltun       | St. George     |
| Frances P.     | Hiestand       | Saylor         |
| Bolton         | Hill           | Scherer        |
| Oliver P.      | Hillelson      | Scott          |
| Bonin          | Hillings       | Scrivner       |
| Bow            | Hinslaw        | Scudder        |
| Bramblett      | Hoffman, Ill.  | Short          |
| Bray           | Hoffman, Mich. | Simpson, Ill.  |
| Brown, Ohio    | Holmes         | Simpson, Pa.   |
| Brownson       | Hosmer         | Small          |
| Budge          | Hruska         | Smith, Kans.   |
| Burdick        | Hunter         | Smith, Wis.    |
| Busbey         | Hyde           | Springer       |
| Byrnes, Wis.   | Jenkins        | Stauffer       |
| Canfield       | Jensen         | Stringfellow   |
| Case           | Johnson        | Taler          |
| Cederberg      | Jonas, N. C.   | Talle          |
| Chenoweth      | Kean           | Thompson       |
| Chipperfield   | Kearns         | Mich.          |
| Church         | Keating        | Utt            |
| Clardy         | Kersten, Wis.  | Velde          |
| Clevenger      | King, Pa.      | Vorpy          |
| Cole, Mo.      | Knox           | Wampler        |
| Corbett        | Krueger        | Warburton      |
| Cotton         | Laird          | Weichel        |
| Cretella       | Lovre          | Wigglesworth   |
| Crumpacker     | McConnell      | Wilson, Calif. |
| Cunningham     | McCulloch      | Wilson, Ind.   |
| Curtis, Mass.  | McDonough      | Withrow        |
| Dague          | McGregor       | Wolcott        |
| Davis, Wis.    | Mailliard      | Wolverton      |
| Dawson, Utah   | Mason          | Young          |
| Derounian      | Meador         |                |

#### NAYS—139

|               |              |             |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Abbott        | Brown, Ga.   | Deane       |
| Abernethy     | Broyhill     | Donohue     |
| Addonizio     | Burleson     | Dorn, S. C. |
| Albert        | Byrd         | Doyle       |
| Alexander     | Camp         | Durham      |
| Andrews       | Campbell     | Eberhart    |
| Ashmore       | Cannon       | Edmondson   |
| Aspinall      | Carlyle      | Evins       |
| Bailey        | Celler       | Fallon      |
| Barden        | Chelf        | Feighan     |
| Bennett, Fla. | Colmer       | Fisher      |
| Blatnik       | Cooley       | Forand      |
| Boland        | Cooper       | Forrester   |
| Bolling       | Crosser      | Fountain    |
| Bonner        | Davis, Ga.   | Friedel     |
| Brooks, La.   | Davis, Tenn. | Garmatz     |
| Brooks, Tex.  | Dawson, Ill. | Gary        |

Gentry  
Gregory  
Hagen, Calif.  
Hagen, Minn.  
Harris  
Harrison, Va.  
Hays, Ark.  
Hays, Ohio  
Herlong  
Hollifield  
Howell  
Icard  
Jarman  
Javits  
Jones, Ala.  
Jones, Mo.  
Jones, N. C.  
Karsten, Pa.  
Kee  
Kelley, Pa.  
King, Calif.  
Landrum  
Lane  
Lanham  
Long  
Lucas  
McCarthy  
Macbrowicz  
Madden  
Mahon

Marshall  
Matthews  
Metcalf  
Miller, Calif.  
Mills  
Moss  
Murray  
Norrell  
O'Brien, Ill.  
O'Hara, Ill.  
O'Neill  
Patman  
Pfoest  
Philbin  
Pikcher  
Poage  
Polk  
Preston  
Price  
Priest  
Rabaut  
Rains  
Rayburn  
Reams  
Rees, Kans.  
Rhodes, Pa.  
Riley  
Roberts  
Robeson, Va.  
Rodino

Rogers, Colo.  
Rogers, Fla.  
Rogers, Mass.  
Rogers, Tex.  
Rooney  
Secrest  
Selden  
Shelley  
Sheppard  
Shuford  
Sieminski  
Smith, Miss.  
Smith, Va.  
Staggers  
Steed  
Sutton  
Thompson, Tex.  
Trimble  
Walter  
Wheeler  
Whitten  
Wickersham  
Williams, Miss.  
Willis  
Wilson, Tex.  
Winstead  
Yorty  
Zablocki

## NOT VOTING—145

Angell  
Ayres  
Barrett  
Battle  
Becker  
Belcher  
Bentsen  
Boggs  
Bosch  
Bowler  
Boykin  
Buchanan  
Buckley  
Bush  
Byrne, Pa.  
Carnahan  
Carrigg  
Chatham  
Chudoff  
Cole, N. Y.  
Condon  
Coon  
Coudert  
Curtis, Mo.  
Curtis, Nebr.  
Deaney  
Dempsey  
Dies  
Dingell  
Dodd  
Dollinger  
Dolliver  
Donovan  
Dowdy  
Elliott  
Engle  
Fernandez  
Fine  
Fino  
Fogarty  
Ford  
Frazier  
Fulton  
Gamble  
Gathings  
Golden  
Gordon  
Granahan  
Grant

Green  
Gubser  
Hale  
Haley  
Hard  
Hardy  
Hart  
Hébert  
Heller  
Hess  
Hoeven  
Holt  
Holtzman  
Hope  
Horan  
Jackson  
James  
Riehlman  
Jonas, Ill.  
Judd  
Kearney  
Kelly, N. Y.  
Keogh  
Kilburn  
Kilday  
Kirwan  
Klein  
Kluczynski  
Lantaff  
Latham  
LeCompte  
Lestinski  
Lyle  
McCormack  
McIntire  
McMillan  
McVey  
Mack, Ill.  
Mack, Wash.  
Magnuson  
Martin, Iowa  
Miller, Kans.  
Miller, Nebr.  
Miller, N. Y.  
Mollohan  
Morano  
Morgan  
Morrison  
Moulder  
Multer

Nelson  
Norblad  
Oakman  
O'Brien, Mich.  
O'Brien, N. Y.  
Osmer  
Passman  
Patterson  
Patterson  
Pelly  
Perkins  
Phillips  
Powell  
Reed, Ill.  
Regan  
Richards  
Riehlman  
Rivers  
Robeson, Ky.  
Roosevelt  
Schenck  
Seely-Brown  
Shafer  
Sheehan  
Sikes  
Spence  
Sullivan  
Taylor  
Teague  
Thomas  
Thompson, La.  
Thornberry  
Tollefson  
Tuck  
Van Pelt  
Van Zandt  
Vinson  
Vursell  
Wainwright  
Watts  
Westland  
Wharton  
Widnall  
Wier  
Williams, N. Y.  
Yates  
Younger

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. McVey for, with Mr. McCormack against.  
Mr. Reed of Illinois for, with Mr. Tuck against.  
Mr. Westland for, with Mr. Bowler against.  
Mr. Taylor for, with Mr. Vinson against.  
Mr. Coudert for, with Mr. Morrison against.  
Mr. McIntire for, with Mr. Boggs against.  
Mr. Coon for, with Mr. Keogh against.  
Mr. Pelly for, with Mr. Klein against.  
Mr. Bosch for, with Mrs. Kelly of New York against.  
Mr. Latham for, with Mr. Heller against.  
Mr. Becker for, with Mr. Holtzman against.  
Mr. Carrigg for, with Mr. Deaney against.  
Mr. Golden for, with Mr. Buckley against.

Mr. Hand for, with Mr. Fine against.  
Mr. Hess for, with Mr. Dollinger against.  
Mr. Holt for, with Mr. Multer against.  
Mr. Kearney for, with Mr. Roosevelt against.  
Mr. Jonas of Illinois for, with Mr. Hébert against.  
Mr. Seely-Brown for, with Mr. Dies against.  
Mr. Shafer for, with Mr. Gordon against.  
Mr. Wainwright for, with Mr. Chatham against.  
Mr. Younger for, with Mr. Condon against.  
Mr. Widnall for, with Mr. Mack of Illinois against.  
Mr. Miller of New York for, with Mr. Magnuson against.  
Mr. Osmer for, with Mr. Barrett against.  
Mr. Riehlman for, with Mr. Granahan against.  
Mr. Schenck for, with Mr. Green against.  
Mr. Kilburn for, with Mr. Chudoff against.  
Mr. Robson of Kentucky for, with Mr. Byrne of Pennsylvania against.  
Mr. Phillips for, with Mr. Carnahan against.  
Mr. Sheehan for, with Mr. Kirwan against.  
Mr. James for, with Mr. Kluczynski against.  
Mr. Oakman for, with Mr. Engle against.  
Mr. Wharton for, with Mr. Hart against.  
Mr. Nelson for, with Mrs. Buchanan against.  
Mr. Cole of New York for, with Mrs. Sullivan against.  
Mr. Bush for, with Mr. Patten against.  
Mr. Williams of New York for, with Mr. O'Brien of New York against.

## Until further notice:

Mr. Angell with Mr. Dingell.  
Mr. Hoeven with Mr. Dodd.  
Mr. Curtis of Nebraska with Mr. Mollohan.  
Mr. Dolliver with Mr. Morgan.  
Mr. Fino with Mr. O'Brien of Michigan.  
Mr. Ford with Mr. Regan.  
Mr. Fulton with Mr. Sikes.  
Mr. Martin of Iowa with Mr. Lantaff.  
Mr. Van Zandt with Mr. Lyle.  
Mr. Van Pelt with Mr. McMillan.  
Mr. Judd with Mr. Boykin.  
Mr. LeCompte with Mr. Battle.  
Mr. Miller of Nebraska with Mr. Bentsen.  
Mr. Morano with Mr. Elliott.  
Mr. Norblad with Mr. Fogarty.  
Mr. Patterson with Mr. Frazier.  
Mr. Hale with Mr. Rivers.  
Mr. Gubser with Mr. Richards.  
Mr. Gamble with Mr. Teague.  
Mr. Curtis of Missouri with Mr. Thompson of Louisiana.  
Mr. Ayres with Mr. Watts.  
Mr. Belcher with Mr. Perkins.  
Mr. Vursell with Mr. Passman.  
Mr. Horan with Mr. Fernandez.  
Mr. Hope with Mr. Haley.  
Mr. Tollefson with Mr. Hardy.

Mr. BROYHILL changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. WILLIS changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 28: Page 16, line 20, insert:

## "SALARIES AND EXPENSES"

"For an additional amount for 'Salaries and expenses', \$200,000: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H. R. 6049, 83d Congress."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum of \$200,000 named in said amendment insert "\$100,000."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 29: Page 17, line 1, insert:

## "ASSISTANCE FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION"

"For providing school facilities and for grants to local educational agencies in federally affected areas, as authorized by titles III and IV of the act of September 23, 1950 (Public Law 815), as amended, including not to exceed \$500,000 for necessary expenses of technical services rendered by other agencies, \$34,500,000, to remain available until expended, and of which \$10,000,000 shall be available for carrying out title IV of said act: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for salaries or other direct expenses of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: *Provided further*, That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H. R. 6049, 83d Congress."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TABER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: Change "\$34,500,000" to "\$70,000,000" and change "\$10,000,000" to "\$8,000,000."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield me a little time?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time in order to clarify the situation because I think there is considerable confusion on the part of the majority of the Members of the House as to the present status of this program.

Let me say that the House bill provided construction money under the new legislation to succeed Public Law 815 approximately \$107 million. Mrs. Hobby, head of the department, asked for \$100 million. The Senate passed a different bill from the House and put in \$34,500,000. The conference committee comes along and cuts the amount down to \$70 million. In doing so they first pared the \$20 million to go for construction in the Indian territory, cutting it first to \$10 million, and under this amendment it is given an additional cut until only \$8 million is left.

The situation is this: There will be available a total of \$70 million, of which \$8 million will go for construction in areas where the Indian population is. Sixty-two million dollars is all that will remain available for implementing the construction program in these impacted districts.

I have asked for this time in order to say that it is totally inadequate and that when the Congress comes back in January it will have to face the possibility of additional appropriations to carry on this program.

# FAIR ENOUGH

By Westbrook Pegler

As I see the line-up and the activities of our Central Intelligence agency in Europe, the

American government is permitting David Dubinsky to use this mysterious bureau to wage a campaign to impose socialism on Germany, France, Italy, and other countries, including Britain. In fact, Britain went Socialist on her own initiative under the Attlee government and has not been able to struggle back from socialism under the ailing and obviously waning Churchill because, as J. P. Morgan put it, you can't unscramble eggs.



Pegler

Now Dubinsky is a Socialist. There is no mystery about that. And his principal political agent in Europe, Irving Brown, is an old Communist and disciple of Jay Lovestone, a former member of the Communist International, who remains a Communist to this day, no matter what Dubinsky's publicity tells you to the contrary.

Lovestone is employed in Dubinsky's union headquarters in New York as a political adviser and there are many other Lovestone Communists in the Dubinsky organization. It should not be necessary to spell out each time the subject is mentioned the fact that these people are rivals of the Russian Kremlin and thus are not Communists with a capital "C," but Lovestone has repeatedly proclaimed his purpose of imposing a Communist form of government on the United States. And the willingness, even the eagerness, of the Lovestone Communist movement to shed our blood in the process is plainly recorded and has never been recanted.

Such, then, are the politics of Dave Dubinsky's political agents. I do not know as many of these characters as I feel that I should but I have sources of information whose knowledge and veracity I rely on. Two of them gave me another short course in these affairs a few days ago. One was Ben Gitlow, the first chief of the Communist party in the United States. The other was Maurice Malkin, another apostate Red who formerly occupied high places in the party. Both have publicly abandoned communism and have given testimony and written voluminously, exposing not only the works of the movement among us but the names of individuals whom they knew to be Communists.

Gitlow and Malkin both insisted that if Lovestone had at last rejected communism and had a sincere intention to help this country fight the menace, he should have acted as they have. True, Lovestone did give testimony but mainly to reaffirm his Communist principles and ambitions.

They named the following "former" Lovestoneites who are powerful in Dubinsky's union subject to his overall authority as perpetual president-dictator with a treasury of \$166 million:

Louis Nelson of Local 155, the knit-goods local manager of the "joint-board" of this specialty and vice president of the gigantic parent union. He has 6,000 subjects. Frank Cooper, the owner of a non-union knit-goods shop who is fighting Dubinsky and Nelson, also pegged Nelson as a "former" Lovestoneite. Cooper said he, too, had been a follower of Lovestone about 1935 and knew him well. He said Nelson was an assumed name. The reason I used the word "former" in quotes is that the Lovestone movement or party was dissolved in 1940. The course, that these people abandoned their doctrines or purposes except as shown in individual cases. Cooper says he grew up and got thru with the whole business.

The next one mentioned by Gitlow and Malkin was Charles (Sacha) Zimmerman, first vice president of the parent union, heir apparent to the Dubinsky throne, and manager of local 22 of the dressmakers with from 25,000 to 30,000 workers in the eastern district. They said Zimmerman had been a charter member of the Communist party, meaning the real Russian party, under Gitlow's leadership, went with Lovestone when he broke with the Kremlin in 1929 and stayed with him until the thing "dissolved." There is other information about Zimmerman of the same significance which I cannot find room for here today.

Next they discussed William Herberg, a "former" Lovestoneite. They said he had been another charter member of the party under Gitlow. He is now "educational director" of Zimmerman's local 22.

Next, Dr. Vladimir Bertan, who served a long prison term in our country for passing counterfeit money for the party. He, too, had been a Lovestone Communist. He is now employed in Dubinsky's medical department.

The prize specimen in the discussion was Bertram Wolfe, who, in Gitlow's words, helped him to found the Communist party here and held many high jobs in the movement under the Russian directorate. He was born in Russia. He went along with Lovestone when Lovestone founded his "Communist opposition" as it was formally called. He is the prize specimen of the piece because he is now a leading figure in the Voice of America drawing about \$10,000 a year.

As I have revealed before, the CIA chose Dubinsky and his union as the best available agents to oppose the westward

Howard Lewis, editor of U.S. and W., is on vacation. His column will be resumed when he returns.

and southward spread of Kremlin communism in Europe. The CIA has put millions of dollars at the disposal of Dubinsky's overseas political conspiracy, but when Sen. Joe McCarthy dared to ask questions about the CIA he was loudly abused. President Eisenhower's mechanized outburst of religious indignation against J. B. Matthews, the executive director of McCarthy's committee, was a ruse to discredit in advance anything they might expose about the CIA. Mr. Eisenhower is determined to shield this bureau and he has publicly acknowledged Irving Brown, Dubinsky's principal agent in Europe.

The excuse for using these people is that, as "former" Communists, they know the wiles and ways of the Kremlin Reds. But if socialism is their aim, and there is evidence that it is their immediate aim, the next step is Lovestone communism, including bolshevism, everywhere this side of the iron curtain, with an American union running the politics from New York. There are others available with great experience among the Red Communists who have not left any doubt about their apostasy. Ben Gitlow, for one fine example. But Gitlow told me last fall that when he asked Dubinsky for work he was turned away. And he said that when he remarked bitterly that it seemed that the only thing left for a man who had really sacrificed all to fight communism was to jump off Brooklyn bridge, Dubinsky answered, "precisely."

Copyright, 1953, King Features Syndicate, Inc.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

at

123-5791-6  
NOT FILED  
2 OCT 7 1953

file  
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6-PPH

Times-Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N.Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N.Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N.Y. Compass \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 8/14/53

25 OCT 14 1953

365



Office *N**um . U*

GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *Vim*

DATE: August 11, 1953

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| Clegg      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| Holloman   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Sizoo      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Miss Gandy | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

For record purposes, there is attached hereto Congressman Fred Busbey's remarks concerning Bertram D. Wolfe which appeared in the Congressional Record for August 3, 1953.

*Vm* *Stall*

cc: Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP

*103*  
*at*  
*59*

RECORDED-59

123-5791-47

OCT 7 1953

*R.H. Giff*

25 OCT 16 1953

# KEY VOICE AID HELD MARXIST THRUOUT LIFE

**Bertram Wolfe Named  
By Rep. Busbey**

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

A key official in the Voice of America, who posed as "anti-Communist," is a lifelong Marxist, Communist and propagandist, Rep. Busbey (R) of Illinois, told the House Monday.

Busbey identified the official as Bertram D. Wolfe, chief of the ideological talks unit of the State department's radio propaganda unit. Wolfe, 57, joined the State department in 1951 when it was under former State Secretary Acheson and has been retained in his high post by State Secretary Dulles. His salary exceeds \$11,000 a year.

The Voice of America official has been known for his active antagonism to the Stalin brand of Soviet imperialism since he was ousted from the Communist party in 1925, Busbey noted.

But his subsequent writings and career demonstrate, Busbey said, that Wolfe remains loyal to Marxian solutions of world problems, including abolition of private property. He is opposed only to the Kremlin and not to the philosophy of a "proletarian dictatorship," Busbey asserted.

## Removal Urged

Theodore C. Streibert, a radio executive, newly appointed director of the United States Information agency which is taking over the State department's propaganda functions, should immediately remove Wolfe and other "Marxist ideologists," Busbey said, "if he wants to correct past errors in the foreign propaganda setup."

Meanwhile, evidence of administrative incompetency, fraud or perjury in placing Wolfe in a confidential government post will be submitted to the House committee on un-American activities, Busbey said, with a request for a full airing of the employment and retention of "this Communist official."

Recent failures of the State department to exploit the East German riots of June 16-18 and the supplying of food packages to starving East Germans were noted by Busbey. He suggested that Marxian ideologists and apologists were responsible for playing down these incidents in radio propaganda.

The only reference to Wolfe's political past in the official State department biographical register of employees is his connection with "a political party, 1928-1929."

## Called Party Founder

"Wolfe was one of the founders of the first organized Communist party in the United States in 1919," Busbey said. "Shortly after its formation, the American Communist party petitioned for admission to the Communist International and was admitted. Thereafter, most of the leaders, including Wolfe, made pilgrimages to Moscow."

In 1929, Busbey said, Stalin expelled Leon Trotsky and his American followers, Jay Lovestone and Wolfe, from the American Communist party, selecting Earl Browder as his American leader. Lovestone, Wolfe and others organized an "opposition" Communist party which remained true to the principles of Marxism but opposed Stalin.

In 1933, Wolfe wrote a booklet explaining this "opposition" party, asserting that the differences with the Communist International "are not differences of basic principles and basic aims."

In 1936, Wolfe proposed a Communist-Socialist coalition party with Tom Mooney, then serving a prison term for a California bombing in 1916, as presidential candidate.

In 1947, Wolfe wrote in a magazine article that he saw "the Socialist movement as the only alternative to totalitarianism," Busbey noted.

## State Dept. Aid Hit

Despite this record, Busbey said, when a senator last questioned the State department on Wolfe's record, the acting deputy undersecretary of state for administration wrote:

"Bertram D. Wolfe is an ex-Communist who, since 1929, has been devoting his life to an exposure of communism in this country."

"One can arrive at any one of three conclusions concerning the statement of this State department official," Busbey remarked. "First, that he is an ignoramus, wholly and totally unqualified to hold any position in the government service that requires his opinion on loyalty matters; second, that he deliberately or impulsively misrepresented the true facts concerning Wolfe; or third, that he is doing his bit to cover up a State department employee who, under any reasonable standard of loyalty, should be removed from the government service."

"A search of Wolfe's record, Busbey said, does not show that he ever gave information to any government agency or congressional committee to expose the Communist conspiracy in which he was involved for so many years."

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. Ladd.....  
Mr. Nichols.....  
Mr. Belmont.....  
Mr. Clegg.....  
Mr. Glavin.....  
Mr. Harbo.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Tracy.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Winterrowd.....  
Tele. Rm.....  
Mr. Holloman.....  
Mr. Sizoo.....  
Miss Gandy.....

*Spang*

*123-5791*

*6 - R.H. EAPR file 123-5791*

TIMES HERALD  
DATE 8-4-53

*P. # 3*

*123-5791-47*

AIR-TEL

AL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8/27/53, New York

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU  
BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY; SGE.  
REBULET 8/19/53. T-15 IN REPORT OF SA [REDACTED]  
NEW YORK, 4/30/53, IN CAPTIONED CASE, AGREES TO BE INTER-  
VIEWED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION  
SERVICE PROVIDED HIS IDENTITY WILL BE CONCEALED BY THAT  
AGENCY. RUC.

BOARDMAN

③ - Bureau (123-5791) (REGULAR MAIL)

WBH:RJM (#13)  
NY 121-16979

RECORDED-59

123-5791-48  
AUG 28 1953  
38

Approved: *LUB*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

25 OCT 14 1953

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont *AS 2*DATE: September 2,  
1953FROM : V. P. Keay *VPA*SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
(File No. 123-5791)

|            |       |
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| Tolson     | _____ |
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| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Sizoo      | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |

Mr. Charles Noone, Security Officer of the International Information Service (IIS), telephonically contacted Supervisor J. S. Annarell of the Liaison Section at 5:00 p.m., Friday, August 28, and referred to a letter which he had transmitted to the Bureau under date of August 11, 1953, wherein he had requested the Bureau to ascertain if a confidential informant referred to in the New York report of April 30, 1953, in instant case, would consent to an interview or identify certain scripts prepared by Wolfe which indicated a pro-Communist attitude on his part. Mr. Noone stated that he desired to withdraw this request since copies of all of Wolfe's scripts have been obtained by officials in IIS; that they had been reviewed and it was concluded that Wolfe did not indicate in his writings that he was pro-Communist. Mr. Noone said that a letter was being transmitted by his agency to Congressman Fred Busbey, who has been interested in this case, advising him of the result of the review of Wolfe's scripts and that a copy of that letter would be furnished to the Bureau. He also said that a 17-page letter had been submitted by Wolfe, a copy of which would also be transmitted to the Bureau.

The foregoing information was telephonically furnished to Supervisor R. H. Egan of the Employees Security Section in order that any work in connection with Mr. Noone's request could be discontinued.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to Supervisor R. H. Egan in the Employees Security Section of the General Investigative Division for his information.

*JS*  
cc - C. H. Stanley

RECORDED-59

123-5791-49  
13 OCT 5 1953  
b-RNF

365  
25 OCT 14 1953

9-2-53

WASH FROM WASH FIELD

2

7:30

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, USIA, SGE. REBULET AUGUST NINETEEN LAST.

INFO RECEIVED THAT PAUL CROUCH IS TEMPORARILY OUT OF THE CITY  
BUT IS EXPECTED TO RETURN SHORTLY. UACB, HE WILL BE INTERVIEWED  
PROMPTLY ON HIS RETURN AND SUBMISSION OF REPORT WILL BE EXPEDITED.

FLETCHER,  
ACTING

ABH:NFR

BUFILE 123-5791

WFO FILE 123-5405

RECORDED-59

123-5791-50

19 OCT 5 1953

25 OCT 14 1953

AIR TEL

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to: **SEPTEMBER 18, 1953**

**SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (123-5405)**

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, USIA, SGE. BUDED OF SEPTEMBER 3 LONG PAST.  
YOUR 0-1 FORM OF SEPTEMBER 11 REFLECTS REPORT IN DICTATION.  
YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO EXPEDITE YOUR TRANSCRIPTION OF YOUR  
REPORT AND SUREP AT ONCE.

HOOVER

123-5791

RHE: vhh *whh*

*at*

RECORDED-59

*123-5741-51*

*CHS*

*PAZ*

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Laughlin  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Rm.  
Holloman  
Gandy

MAILED 3  
SEP 18 1953  
COMM-FBI

25 OCT 14 1953  
SENT VIA

M

Per

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

|   |                                  |   |   |
|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT<br><b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>  | DATE WHEN MADE<br><b>9/17/53</b> | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE<br><b>9/2, 9, 10, 14/53</b>   | REPORT MADE BY<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div> <b>JS</b> |
| TITLE<br><b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, aka Daniel Spays, Albert Allbright, Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas, Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff, Central Program Services Division, International Broadcasting Service, United States Information Agency, New York, New York</b>  |                                  |   | CHARACTER OF CASE<br><b>SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES</b>  |
| SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:<br><br><div style="float: right; text-align: right;">                 2- 9-1<br/>                 1- 1-1<br/>                 7- 6-1<br/>                 11-1<br/>                 10-1             </div> <p>Signed statement from PAUL CROUCH obtained.</p> <p>AGENCY <u>100-100-100</u><br/>                 REQ. REC'D <u>5-26-54</u><br/>                 REP'T FORW. <u>6-10-54</u><br/>                 BY <u>[Signature]</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC -</p> <p>REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated August 19, 1953.</p> <div style="margin-top: 20px;"> <p>AGENCY <u>100-100-100</u><br/>                         REQ. REC'D <u>7-5-56</u><br/>                         REP'T FORW. <u>7-4-56</u><br/>                         BY <u>[Signature]</u></p> <p style="margin-left: 200px;">100-100-100<br/>                         AGENCY <u>100-100-100</u><br/>                         REQ. REC'D <u>2-4-54</u><br/>                         REP'T FORW. <u>2-3-54</u><br/>                         BY <u>[Signature]</u></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-top: 20px; width: fit-content;"> <p>100-100-100<br/>                             REQ. REC'D <u>2-17-60</u><br/>                             JAN 6 1961<br/>                             ANS.<br/>                             BY: <u>[Signature]</u></p> </div> <div style="margin-top: 20px;"> <p>2cc CSC<br/>                             1cc HAG<br/>                             7-27-53<br/>                             [Signature]</p> </div> </div> |                                  |   |   |
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 100px; float: left;"> <p>100-100-100<br/>                             REQ. REC'D <u>2-17-60</u><br/>                             JAN 6 1961<br/>                             ANS.<br/>                             BY: <u>[Signature]</u></p> </div><br><div style="clear: both;"></div>   |                                  | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE<br><br><div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 100px; float: left;"> <p>100-100-100<br/>                             REQ. REC'D <u>2-17-60</u><br/>                             JAN 6 1961<br/>                             ANS.<br/>                             BY: <u>[Signature]</u></p> </div><br><div style="clear: both;"></div> |   |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT<br>5 - Bureau (123-5791)<br>1 - New York (123-3898) (Info)<br>1 - Washington Field (123-5405)   |                                  | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES<br><div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">123-5791-52</div> <div style="float: right; border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">RECORDED-59</div>   |   |

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service,  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Washington, D. C.  
September 17, 1953

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

PAUL CROUCH, presently employed by the Washington Field Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., advised that he knew WOLFE personally from about September, 1927 to about the first part of April, 1929. CROUCH stated that he, CROUCH, during that time was a member of the Communist Party and was head of the Department for Work in the United States Armed Forces of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and was also a member of the editorial staff of the "Daily Worker." He said he held several other positions in the Communist Party and in Communist front organizations also. He furnished the following statement with regard to his knowledge of WOLFE:

Washington, D. C.  
September 14, 1953

"I, PAUL CROUCH, make the following voluntary statement to [redacted] who has identified himself to me as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am willing to appear before a hearing board to testify as to my knowledge of BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE, to testify in WOLFE'S presence, and to be cross-examined by him or his counsel.

b6  
b7C

"I knew WOLFE personally from about September, 1927 to about late March or the first part of April, 1929. During that time WOLFE was a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party, head of the educational department of the Communist Party, and in charge of the Workers School in New York City. The Workers School was operated by the Communist Party. WOLFE was also a very frequent writer for the Communist Party press.

"The last time I saw WOLFE was after the March, 1929 convention



of the Communist Party, just before WOLFE went to Moscow, Russia with BENJAMIN GITLOW, JAY LOVESTONE, MAX BEDACHT, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, and others. They went to Moscow to appeal for changes in instructions that had been given earlier by the Comintern in regard to the organization of the Communist Party in the United States. WOLFE joined LOVESTONE in defying the decisions made in Moscow and later, in May, 1929, he was expelled from the Communist Party together with LOVESTONE and GITLOW. Thereafter he was on the editorial board of Revolutionary Age, the official organ of the Communist Party (Majority Group)--the Majority Group was the group expelled from the Communist Party in 1929.

"As well as I can recall, WOLFE was with the LOVESTONE group as late as about 1940. I have read many of WOLFE'S writings in later years, and since about 1940 he has been best known as the author of books. His biography of Diego Rivera reflects opposition to the present regime in Russia but shows a belief in a great many Marxist ideas. His most recent book is 'Three Men Who Made a Revolution'; I have not read this book carefully enough to tell if it is anti-Marxian, but I have the impression that it is anti-Soviet. WOLFE'S writings of the early part of the period from 1940 to the present show that while he was anti-Soviet he was also pro-Marxist.

"When I was in California in 1950 I was for a time employed by the Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature. I recall that WOLFE made some speeches in California then and that reports were received by the Committee that his lectures were anti-Soviet in tone.

"I have read the above handwritten statement of three pages and its contents are true to the best of my knowledge and belief."

/s/ PAUL CROUCH

"Witness:

Special Agent, FBI  
Washington, D. C."

b6  
b7C

The Communist Party has been designated by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

WFO 123-5405

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

One copy of this report has been designated for the New York Office as WOLFE is employed and resides in the area covered by that office.

*Admin Page*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Title: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief  
Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service,  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Report of: SA 

123-5791-52

b6  
b7C

Date and Place: Washington, D. C. September 17, 1953

This is amended copy of Security of Government  
Employees report and should not be removed from  
file for dissemination purposes. If dissemination  
necessary, copies should be made of this copy.

## PROPERTY OF FBI

This [REDACTED] report and its  
contents are loaned to you by the  
FBI and are not to be distributed  
outside of agency to which loaned.  
This is an FBI investigative report  
and makes no recommendation for  
clearance or disapproval.

e LSP

## Office Memorandum • UN

GOVERNMENT

RECORDED-59

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

DATE: September 28, 1953

FROM : Director, FBI

Attention:   
Records Administration Branchb6  
b7C

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Albright  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum dated June 29, 1953 furnishing copies of reports covering an investigation conducted concerning the captioned individual. These reports were furnished for information and consideration as to whether the evidence developed indicated a violation of any Federal law.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of this Bureau's letter of this date to the U. S. Civil Service Commission together with a copy of its enclosure containing further information regarding the captioned matter. This is being furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to the Department in this case.

COMM - FBI

SEP 28 1953

MAILED 31

123-5791

Enclosures (4)

RHE:bjb

25 OCT 15 1953

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
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Glavin  
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Gandy  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
 Sizoo  
Miss Gandy

123-5791

RECORDED-59

123-5791-52

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DATE: September 28, 1953

TO: Mr. James E. Hatcher  
Chief, Investigations Division  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

FROM: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my letter dated June 29, 1953, and to my previous letters transmitting the results of investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

Additional information has been received which is set forth in my report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 17, 1953, at Washington, D. C., two copies of which are attached.

There are also enclosed two Photostats of each of the following:  
COMM. msg: An article captioned "Key Voice Aid Held Marxist Thruout Life" which appeared in the August 4, 1953, issue of the "Times-Herald," Washington, D. C.; Pages 11328 to 11331, inclusive, of the Congressional Record for August 3, 1953.

This information is furnished to supplement the data previously forwarded to you in this case.

Enclosure

cc: AG Warren Olney III (Encl.) (Under Separate Cover)

RHE:bjb

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CLOSING SUPPLEMENTAL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 141

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (123-5791)

DATE: 9/17/53

FROM : *JBS* WFO (123-5405)SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE aka  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEESRe WFO report dated 9/17/53, five copies of which are attached. *11-1*

PAUL CROUCH also advised that he did not remember ever having heard of WOLFE using any aliases, and he said that insofar as he knew WOLFE was always commonly known in the Communist Party as BERT WOLFE and that he always used the signature BERTRAM D. WOLFE. He said he supposed that WOLFE used an alias when applying for passports to leave the United States as that was standard procedure of the Communists at that time. He said, however, that he had no knowledge of the alias that WOLFE may have used at the time. CROUCH also suggested that JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER of Detroit and [redacted] of Los Angeles, both former members of the Communist Party, be contacted for their knowledge of WOLFE. He suggested also that Columnist WESTBROOK PEGLER might have some information concerning WOLFE of pertinence to this investigation. He made this observation he said after having noted PEGLER'S column in the "Washington Times Herald" for September 14, 1953, in which PEGLER makes some mention of JAY LOVESTONE.

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b7C

It is being left to the Bureau to determine the necessity for having these individuals interviewed. RUC

ABH:JS  
Enclosures - 5

5 ENCL  
59

SE 50

RECORDED-59

123-5791 52

SEP 17 1953

6. RHC

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. Rosen *RAM*

DATE: December 16, 1953

FROM : Mr. C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 aka Daniel Shays  
 Albert Albright  
 Albert Lovell  
 Albert Ward  
 L. Vargas  
 Chief, Ideological Supervisory Staff  
 Central Program Services Division  
 International Broadcasting Service  
 United States Information Agency  
 New York, New York  
 SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*aw 1-1*  
*aw 11-1*  
*aw 9-1*  
*aw 6-1*  
*Stanley*

*G.I.R.*

Wolfe was investigated as a Voice of America applicant in 1950 and supplemental data was furnished to the Civil Service Commission under SGE caption on September 28, 1953.

Referral/Consult

By memorandum dated December 7, 1953, from Inspector V. P. Keay to Assistant Director A. H. Belmont (attached), it was stated that a copy of a letter dated November 10, 1953

123-5791

RECORDED-1

123-5791-53

DEC 22 1953

JEO:611

ENCLOSURE  
*gao*

20 JAN 5 1954

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that no dissemination be made of the information contained in [redacted] inas-  
much as information from [redacted] has been previously reported.

b7E

OK  
✓  
12-17

*[Handwritten signature]*

Attachment



~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

~~AL~~

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

October 7, 1953

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Archie D. Simpson  
Records Administration Branch

100-3781-1

BERTIRAN DAVID WOLFE  
aka Daniel Shays, Albert Allbright,  
Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
Chief, Ideological Advisory Staff  
Central Program Services Division  
International Broadcasting Service  
United States Information Agency  
New York, New York  
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to my memorandum dated September 28, 1953, and to my previous memoranda transmitting the results of the investigation conducted concerning the above-named individual.

For your information and for the completion of your file there is transmitted herewith one copy of each of the following letters



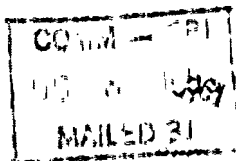
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Enclosure

Referral/Direct

RHE:bbm

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy



20 OCT 23 1953

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT

TO :

MR. A. H. BELMONT *amb*

DATE: December 7, 1953

FROM :

MR. V. P. KEAY *VPK*

SUBJECT:

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
 SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The captioned individual was a member of the Communist Party, USA, from 1919 to 1929. In 1930 he joined Jay Lovestone as a member of the "Communist Opposition." He allegedly has been anti-Communist since he broke with the US Party. In 1950 the Bureau initiated a "Voice of America" investigation concerning Wolfe. This investigation was completed in the same year. On August 3, 1953, Congressman Busbey questioned Wolfe's employment with the "Voice of America." The Bureau conducted additional investigation as a result of a request received from [redacted]

Referral/Consult

1. ENCL ACTION:

The above information and attachment are being referred to the attention of the Employees Security Section.

Attachment

SJP:djs

1 - Mr. C. H. Stanley

123-5791

RECORDED-11

1183-5791-54  
 31 DEC 22 1953

EMPLOYEES SECURITY SECTION  
*glo*

20 JAN 5 1954

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. Rosen *ARM*

DATE: February 15, 1954

FROM : Mr. C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
 aka Daniel Shays, Albert Albright,  
 Albert Lovell, Albert Ward, L. Vargas  
 Chief  
 Ideological Supervisor Staff  
 Central Program Services Division  
 International Broadcasting Service  
 U. S. Information Agency  
 New York, New York  
 SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Wolfe was a member of the Communist Party, USA, from 1919 to 1929. In 1930, he joined Jay Lovestone as a member of the "Communist Opposition." He reportedly has been anti-Communist since he broke with the Communist Party. Wolfe has been a controversial figure. In 1953, Congressman Fred E. Busbey (R.) of Illinois publicly attacked Wolfe as a life-long Marxian Communist and propagandist. Wolfe was the subject of an extensive investigation under the Voice of America program and the Federal Employee Security Program.

The Civil Service Commission by letter dated January 28, 1954, advised that Wolfe had been "retained" under Executive Order 10450.

The "Washington Post" of February 12, 1954, revealed that Wolfe had resigned from his position with the Government to return to his writings on the history of the Russian Revolution. His resignation was excepted "with regret" by the Voice of America Director Leonard F. Erikson.

ACTION:

For your information.

*PTE*  
*[Signature]*

RECORDED - 24

124-5791-55

FEB 16 1954

EX-126

EMP. SEC. SECT.

123-5791 FEB 19 1954  
 RHE:bbm *[Signature]*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 41  
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Page 17 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 118 ~ Referral/Direct  
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Page 153 ~ Duplicate to 123-HQ-5791 EBF 32  
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Page 216 ~ Referral/Consult  
Page 217 ~ Referral/Consult  
Page 219 ~ Referral/Consult  
Page 221 ~ Duplicate  
Page 262 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 294 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 295 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 296 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 300 ~ Referral/Direct